000 316 the highest, coldest, part of the country. Coal was exploited and mined in a primitive way in one of the valleys north of Hsining and near the junction of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers. According to the local *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 20*a*), iron was exploited during the Ming dynasty (1368–1644); but the deposits must have been exhausted, because during the period of my stay iron was carried all the way from the Province of Szech'uan on donkeys and mules.

In the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, and some of their small tributaries, gold was panned at irregular intervals; south of the Hsining River and in the upper reaches of the Hsining and Tat'ung Rivers, thirty-one auriferous placers were regularly exploited, mostly by Muslims.

487 492 505 The system of communications was primitive. Ox carts could travel on the roads near the larger towns and villages, but most transportation depended on pack-animals, including donkeys, mules, and horses. It was only subsequent to the period covered by this study that a highway was built connecting Lanchou, the capital of the Province of Kansu, with Hsining, the capital of Ch'inghai. The Hsining River was, therefore, the biggest transport asset of the country. From the Hsining River to the Yellow River, which flows by the city of Lanchou, cargoes of grain, wool, skins, vegetable oils, and alcohol were carried on rafts made either of wood or of inflated ox skins as far as the city of Paot'ou, in the Province of Suiyüan, where they were unloaded and carried on by rail to the seaport of Tientsin. Most of this transportation business was in the hands of Chinese Muslims. [463] [563]

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

175 In the oldest Chinese historical references, the country between the Tat'ung, Hsining, and Yellow Rivers was called Huang Chung and was inhabited by tribes called Ch'iang. The Chinese ideograph for this name indicated that it had the meaning "herders of sheep." The name is one that has never disappeared from Chinese usage in referring to the peoples of the edge of the Tibetan plateau; it is in use to this day. In 202 B.C. the Hsiao Yuehchih, who were probably speakers of an eastern Iranian, Indo-European language, fled from the Hsiung-nu, the principal tribe of the northern Chinese frontier, settled among the Ch'iang tribes, and were absorbed by them.

In 116 B.C. Ho Ch'ü-ping, one of the most famous frontier commanders in Chinese history, came to Huang Chung and founded the first Chinese colonies among the Ch'iang tribes. In A.D. 4 more Chinese colonies were established in the region of Kukunor, but were lost after a few years. This was, in fact, a precarious frontier. For three hundred and sixty years the frontier colonies were often in danger of annihilation, being subject to frequent tribal attack and without support from China proper, because the Later Han dynasty of the first and second centuries A.D. was troubled with chronic dynastic

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175 crises and revolts. During the anarchic period of the Three Kingdoms of the third century A.D., during which the population of China was reduced by something like three-fifths, no aid and support were available from within China, and the frontier colonies were overwhelmed.

The next period, from 265 to 589, also was a time of troubles. Different parts of North China were invaded and conquered by different nomad tribes. To some extent the invaders were absorbed by the Chinese; but to some extent also the northern Chinese were "barbarized." The main Chinese cultural area became the country south of the Yangtze.

Northern Kansu was at the same time turned upside down by nomadic tribes. Sienpi[2] tribes from northern China settled in the beginning of the second century A.D. in the region between Kueite and the Gobi, between the upper reaches of the Wei and Yellow Rivers. They fixed their capital near Lanchou, and their kingdom was called Hsi Ch'in (Western Ch'in). Lu Kuang, of Tangut origin, created at Liangchou a kingdom of Hou Liang (Later Liang). T'ufa tribes, a branch of the Sienpi, established the kingdom of Nan Liang (Southern Liang) between Hsining and Lanchou. Menghsün tribes, a branch of the Hsiungnu, founded a Pei Liang (Northern Liang) kingdom between Liangchou and Suchou (Hsüchou). Li Kao, a Chinese of western origin, created a kingdom of Hsi Liang (Western Liang) between Anhsi and Tunhuang. All of these kingdoms either annihilated each other or were eventually subjected to the Chin dynasty (Western and Eastern Chin, 265–419) or the Toba Wei dynasty (386–534). Parallel with these events, part of the border region of Hsining and Kukunor was occupied from 280 to 673 by a frontier state founded by Tuyühun tribes, also of Sienpi origin.

The next period of unification in China began under the Sui dynasty of 589–620, under which Chinese colonies were again established in Huang Chung and Kukunor in order to hold back the incursions of the Tibetans. The next dynasty, that of the T'ang, from 618 to 906, was even stronger; but even the T'ang

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[2] The data in this paragraph are based on O. Franke. *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* **2**: 111–114. Leipzig. de Gruyter. 1936. In **3**: 250. 1937 of the same work, citing B. Laufer, article in *T'oung Pao*, 2nd ser. **9**: 449, n. 3, 1908, Franke has the following to say on the ethnic composition of these tribes: "Laufer hat zweifellos Recht, wenn er meint, dass 'sicher türkische und tungusische Stämme und jedenfalls auch ein alteinheimisches Element (?) zur Bildung der Mongolen beigetragen haben.' Was hat es unter solchen Umstanden für eine Bedeutung, wenn man die Sien-pi für 'Mongolen' erklärt, auch wenn zur T'ang-Zeit der Name Mêng-wu als Bezeichnung eines Stammes der Schi-wei vorkommt und die Schi-wei—was ganz unsicher is—die Nachkommen der Sien-pi sein sollten? Dass aus ihnen, wie aus den Wu-huan, Hiung-nu, den K'iang und vielen anderen Völkern die 'Mongolen' der spateren Zeit zusammengesetzt worden sind, kann keinem Zweifel unterliegen, aber irgend welche Bedeutung für die alten etnischen Verhaltnisse hat dies nicht."

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•175 dynasty could not completely check the Tibetans, who were referred to in the Chinese annals of this period as T'ufan. In 672 the T'ufan defeated the T'uyühun and began to dominate this part of the Chinese frontier. They were eventually defeated in 866 not by the T'ang Chinese but by the Uighur tribes, Turkish people of Central Asia, who settled in Huang Chung and offered a nominal allegiance to China. The next period, that of the Five Dynasties from 907 to 960, was again a time of troubles and disunity in China. The Shat'o clans which are one of the components of the Monguor people of today claim their descent from the Shat'o tribes which sought refuge in China in 808 and later founded the dynasties of the Hou T'ang or Later T'ang (923–936) and Hou Chin or later Chin (936–947). During the next period, from 960 to 1280, China south of the Yangtze was ruled by the Sung dynasty; but though culturally this was one of the greatest periods in China, the Sung dynasty lost control of North China to successive barbarian invaders. Northwest China and the modern provinces of Kansu and Ningshia, together with the Ordos region, were dominated by the Chin and by a people of Tibetan origin referred to in the Chinese annals as Hsi Hsia (Western Hsia) or Tanghsiang. (The Northern Tibetans are still referred to by the Mongols as Tangud or Tangot, a plural of "Tang.") In the course of the great Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century, the Tangud of Huang Chung were defeated and driven back into Tibet. The ancient frontier region of Huang Chung was depopulated, and to replace those who had fled a number of Mongol commanders and their followers were moved into the region. Their descendants constitute the majority group within the present Monguor people.

The Mongol dynasty, overthrown by the revolt of its Chinese subjects, was replaced by the Ming dynasty (1386–1644) which renewed once more the process of establishing Chinese military frontier colonies in Huang Chung; but recurring inroads of both Tibetan and Mongol tribes kept the Ming frontier power in this region weak. The frontier was not stabilized again until after the Manchu conquest, under the Ch'ing dynasty of 1644–1911. It was in the long period of stable rule under the Ch'ing dynasty that spreading agriculture and increasing trade began first definitely to change the lives of the originally nomadic Monguor people and then to submerge them in a flood of Chinese acculturation.

POPULATION OF THE COUNTRY

[161] From 1911 to 1922, when I lived in this region, the city of Hsining, with a Chinese population of about 60,000 inhabitants, was the seat of a Chinese civil administrator who had authority over the Chinese of the city and the region. Law and order were assured by a local army commanded by a Chinese Muslim general. The formerly turbulent Mongol and Tibetan tribes of

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175 the region came under the jurisdiction of an official with the Manchu title of Amban.

According to the *Annals of Hsining*, ch. 16, pp. 12 *a* and *b*, the tribal jurisdiction of the Amban derived from a meeting that had been held in 1732 between the provinces of Szech'uan and Shen-Kan (or "Shensi and Kansu," but embracing the territories not only of the present provinces of Shensi and Kansu but of the later-established provinces of Ningshia and Ch'inghai as well). At this meeting each tribe was assigned a fixed territory for the first time in history. The tribes allocated to the Amban of Hsining included twenty-eight banners of the Mongols of Kukunor and one banner of Mongols located in Tibet proper; the Tibetan tribes of the Kukunor frontier were reorganized at that time and for that purpose into eight major tribal groups; twenty-five Tibetan tribes of the frontier district of Yüshu, each under a chief with the title of T'u-ssu; and the very independent and warlike Tibetan tribe of the Ngoloks. By 1918, when a census was taken, the eight major Tibetan tribal groups just mentioned were reported to number 8,443 families, totaling 39,390 people.[2a]

The territory inhabited by a settled farming population was divided into the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining, Nienpei, Tat'ung, Kueite, Donkir, Payenjung, and Hsünhua. The fields around the cities and big villages were tilled by Chinese, but in outlying districts Tibetans and Monguors were to be met, wearing their distinctive, non-Chinese costumes and speaking their own languages. On the southern, western, and northern fringes of the land settled by Chinese were sedentary Tibetans who farmed and also raised sheep and cattle. In enclaves within the Chinese population lived the Monguors, in well-defined valleys where there was little Chinese population. Scattered here and there were villages of Chinese-speaking Muslims. On the southern edge of the district lived the Turkish-speaking Salar Muslims.

TIBETANS

563 From the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 11–20, the names of sixty-six Tibetan tribes can be counted, and in addition the names of fifty-two villages inhabited by Tibetans in the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining. These village Tibetans were called by the Chinese "tame" in contrast with the "wild" nomad Tibetans in the Kukunor frontier district. According to the *Annals*, the village Tibetans numbered 10,683 families, totaling 42,732 people. The exact average of four persons per family suggests that these figures are more schematic than accurate. The large number of tribes given for the "tame" Tibetans can be taken only as a general guide. It is characteristic of Tibetan tribes that they very easily subdivide into new tribes, and often a group of no more than ten or twenty families will call itself a tribe. The tribal Tibetans close

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[2a] Yao Ming-hui, *Yüshu tiaoch'a chi* 1, 1–24, Shanghai, Commercial Press, 1920.

[p. 21-b]

563 to Hsining are the remnants of the once much more powerful tribes that withdrew at the beginning of the Mongol dynasty to the Kukunor region. Those who stayed behind submitted to the jurisdiction of the officials of the settled districts. There is little cohesion among them. Those who call themselves a tribe are rarely under the control of a single chief. Tribal matters are more usually disposed of by the elders of the group. The religion of all these Tibetans is Lama Buddhism. The prevailing sect is that of the Yellow Hats or reformed sect, but in the southern districts there is a fairly strong survival of the older Red Hat sect. Shamanism also continues to flourish among the Tibetans, in spite of Buddhism; their shamans are reputed to be the most powerful in the country. There are a few Tibetans living near Hsünhua who have become Muslims.

MONGUORS

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In the seven sub-prefectures of Hsining there were then living sixteen clans of Monguors, to which should be added the Liench'eng clan, living in the territory of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. The word "clan" has been used in many senses in the literature of the social sciences. It is here used in a special sense, and for lack of a more precise term, to describe a group of people ruled by the same chief, all people born into the clan bearing the same surname as the chief of the clan and living on territory belonging to the chief. The Monguor clans (excepting the Shat'o groups) trace their presence in the Hsining district as far back as the period of the Yüan or Mongol dynasty (1260–1368). On the overthrow of this dynasty they submitted to the Ming dynasty. A fixed territory was then assigned to the chief of each clan. The Tibetans of the Hsining district were assigned territories in the same way at the same time. While the Tibetans were subject to the direct administration of the Chinese sub-prefecture officials, however, the Monguors, in spite of the fact that their territories formed enclaves within the sub-prefectures, were directly administered by their own clan chiefs under a peculiar kind of local autonomy.

MUSLIMS

563 The Hsining district is also an important Muslim stronghold. There are three Muslim groups, of which two still speak a Turkish dialect while one speaks Chinese. According to their own tradition, the Chinese-speaking Muslims are of Turkish origin, but while clinging to their religion they have adopted the Chinese language and many Chinese customs. From the Chinese point of view, however, they remain foreigners and barbarians, and there is cordial mutual dislike between Chinese and Chinese-speaking Muslims. In the Chinese *Annals* I have not been able to find any reference to the date of their earliest settlement in this region, although according to popular tradition they arrived either during

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175 We may now summarize the general history of this area. From 116 B.C. to A.D. 1280, military colonies were intermittently established in Hsining and the country was "officially" divided into sub-prefectures; these disappeared several times and their existence was always precarious, because of the inroads of nomadic tribes; in fact the population of the country appears to have changed many times. During the Mongol dynasty (1260–1368), the entire Hsining region was for the first time firmly annexed to China by the Mongol conquerors. The Ming dynasty (1368–1644) started off with an improvement in the organization of the country, following the Chinese pattern, but was not very successful in this undertaking because of inability to prevent inroads by nomads. The Ch'ing dynasty (1644–1911), benefiting by the experience of the Ming, succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighboring tribes of Kukunor, assigning definite territories to each of them, and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes, they were able to develop the country peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighboring tribes.

II. THE MONGUORS

The origin of the Monguor clans, of the name "Monguor," and of the Monguor language has been a puzzle for both foreigners and local people. After presenting the enigma, I shall present some data about the name of the Monguors and the solution of the language problem. I shall then deal with the historical solution of the Monguor enigma, revealing successively the origin of the Monguor clans and the time of their first settlement in Kansu, the nature of this settlement and the distribution of the Monguor clans, population figures, and the expansion of the Monguors throughout the country.

THE MONGUORS AN ENIGMA TO FOREIGNERS

114 *Huc and Gabet*, in their famous journey to Lhasa (1844–1846), record their passage through the country of the Monguors of the Three Valleys (San-ch'uan), called Dschiahours by the Tibetans and T'u-jen by the Chinese. Their traveling companion, Samdadchiemba, was himself a Monguor, a subject of the T'u-ssu of the Ch'i clan of the Three Valleys. Huc and Gabet describe the people as appearing to be of "Tartar" origin and their language as seeming to be a mixture of Mongol, Chinese, and Tibetan.[1]

Prjevalski, who traveled in the region in 1873, calls the Monguors "Daldy," describes them as more like the

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[1] Huc and Gabet, *Souvenir d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Tibet, 1844–1846.* 2: 36–37. Paris, edition of 1878.

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177 The Monguor morphology also differs from that of the Mongol dialects.

The Monguor dialect borrowed a large number of words both from the Tibetan and mostly from the Chinese languages; the words borrowed from Turkish are less numerous.

These facts secure to the Monguor dialect a peculiar aspect, and make it so extremely different from other Mongol dialects, that Monguors are unable to converse either with eastern or with western Mongols, and in order to speak with them they have to use another language. √

HISTORICAL SOLUTION OF THE ENIGMA

•175 The grouping of Mongol and Shat'o tribes which resulted in the formation of the Monguor people was effected in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century. In 1226 Subudei, one of Chingis Khan's greatest commanders, invaded Hsining on his way to Lan-chou.[16] In 1275, according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, p. 7*a*), a Mongol army was sent to fight the turbulent T'ufan (Tibetans) whose nomad pastures were in the Kukunor region. This expedition was based on Hsining. During this half-century of war, most of the population of the Hsining country, which had consisted of small Tibetan tribes, had fled and the country was laid open for the Mongols. Only in 1287, however, was Chang-chi, a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, appointed as governor of Hsining (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 7*b*) and an embryonic organization started; but during the whole period of the Mongol dynasty no census is recorded. The scanty records include only such events as a movement of troops in 1302 and a famine in 1324.

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[16] H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, 290, 291, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950. This work contains a valuable discussion of this campaign.

During the whole Mongol period we find no references in the *Annals* concerning the presence of the Monguors in Hsining; the first historical data available are encountered during the Ming (1368–1643) and they prove that the Monguor groups were already living in Hsining during the Mongol period, under the ancestors of their later T'u-ssu.

Both the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, *passim*) and the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 24, *passim*) record that the Monguors were already settled in the Hsining region when the Ming dynasty was founded in 1368. Both

Annals also record the tradition that the Li group is of Shat'o extraction. The version of these *Annals* is confirmed in (or perhaps drawn from) the *History of the Five Dynasties* (Wu tai shih chi, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*; Ponapen edition), where it is recorded that the Shat'o lived in the mountainous country between Kanchou and Hsining (where the Li group still lives) in A.D. 939; and these Shat'o are described as belonging to the Chuhsieh tribe, from which came the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin. The living tradition, the documentary records of the *Annals*, and the general history of China support each other. The Chuhsieh tribe fled to China in A.D. 808, in order to be protected by the T'ang emperors. They were settled in the country of Lingwu, Ninghsia, and received the surname of Li from the emperor. The other Monguor groups, according to the *Annals* of Kansu (ch. 42, p. 43), are of Mongol origin, except for one small group of seventy families belonging to the Yeh T'u-ssu who are of Ch'ant'ou[17] origin and who submitted to the Ming at the same time as the Monguors. All the Monguors are described as having been posted along these frontiers by the Ming and their chiefs as having received the title and function of T'u-ssu during the very first years of the dynasty.

According to the *Annals*, all the chiefs of the Monguor and Shat'o clans belong to their own clan and are of the same extraction, except the Ch'eng T'u-ssu who is Chinese by origin, the "founding ancestor" of his house having been born in Chiangnan province. Taking after his father, he fought the Mongols and was rewarded with the hereditary office of Chihhuishih and the administration of 120 Mongol families, who became his subjects (*Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 36).

It was at the time of the submission of the Monguor clans that the Ming Dynasty started the establishment of new Chinese colonies which, together with the Monguors, were supposed to defend the country.

The first census in the *Annals* of Hsining concerning these colonies is recorded at the opening of the Ming Dynasty (ch. 16, p. 15*a*). It lists 7,200 Chinese families totalling only 15,854 persons, described as "officials and soldiers." The indicated average of less than three persons per family strengthens the probablity that there were as yet no agricultural colonists. We know from earlier records that during the Han and Sui dynasties Chinese colonies had been established. It is probable, from what we know of the general character of Chinese history, that when colonies disappeared and the country was reoccupied by nomads, some of the Chinese were killed, some fled back to areas with a more numerous agricultural population and strong walled cities, and some were absorbed by the nomads and became barbarians. Thus when the first military Ming garrisons

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[17] Ch'ant'ou, "Turbaned Heads," is the vulgar Chinese term for the Turkish-speaking agricultural and town-dwelling people of Sinkiang, for whom in recent years the medieval tribal name of Uighur has, with partial historical justification, been revived. —O. L.

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were established, it is probable that there were no villages in the country and no "natives" whom the newcomers called "aborigines," except the Monguor groups and a very few small Tibetan groups.

Among the Chinese inhabitants of Hsining, after so many centuries, the tradition is still fresh and living that their ancestors were poor farmers of the province of Chiangsu (Kiangsu) who had been picked up at random in their home villages and sent as conscripts to garrison the Hsining frontier. The tradition is specific that they left their homes unwillingly. Every year in April at Ch'ing Ming, the spring festival when ancestors are venerated, the Chinese of Hsining first burn paper and incense and prostrate themselves in the direction of their ancient homeland before they honor their more recent ancestors. On the last day of the year they again burn paper and prostrate themselves before midnight on the main street, in the direction of Nanking on the lower Yangtze, honoring their remote ancestors who perhaps have no worshippers in their original homeland. At betrothals a packet of fine tea leaves is always offered and this is described as a custom brought from the ancestral province and loyally preserved. In the temple of the guardian deity of the city of Hsining (Ch'eng-huang Miao) a large room is reserved for three small statues of Buddha which are said to have been brought by the first Ming Chinese on their way to exile, and on the fifteenth of the first moon nobody fails to honor them. Every year a festival is organized and traditional theatricals are presented in their honor. In 1917 the statues were gilded anew and the small temple received a new coat of paint. History and tradition seem to tally, therefore, in recognizing these military colonists as the pioneers of the present Chinese population of the Hsining region.

The Chinese of Hsining always stress the fact that their ancestors were forced to leave their native province and had been exiled to the country of the barbarians. The stealing of a single melon from the fields was a crime great enough to cause exile of the whole family. Of old the Chinese people were reluctant to go to the military colonies, and prisoners from all over China had to be sent.

A living picture of the sending of colonists to Hsining by Wang-Mang, the usurper of the throne of the Han emperors in A.D. 7, is related in Chinese history.

> Wang Mang sent an emissary to Kukunor (and) induced a Ch'iang chieftain to come to court and present his grasslands to China, offering, in speech flattering to Wang Mang, to remove his people to less fertile lands and guard the frontiers. . . . When Kukunor had been accepted, Chinese settlers found it unattractive and would not move there. Wang Mang solved that problem quickly; 50 laws were added to the code, and violators were exiled to Kukunor. Thousands and tens of thousands of people were transported to this inhospitable terrain. Wang Mang would not allow the welfare of the people to interfere with his glory. The Ch'iang had not expected such mass immigration and attacked the settlers. Wang Mang had to

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175 put the rebels down by military force. He increased the harshness of the laws and exiled thousands of peasants to the barren region in order to glorify himself.[18]

This was the historical frame when the Monguor clans settled in the region of Hsining during the Yuan dynasty and when they submitted to the Ming dynasty as defenders of the marches in conjunction with the military colonists, their chiefs becoming Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu, in a country open to the forays and inroads of hostile tribes. In these conditions the Ming proposed to colonize the country.

SETTLEMENT AND DISTRIBUTION OF MONGUOR CLANS IN KANSU

618 I use the term "clan" here to refer to a group sharing a common territory, a common surname, and a common chief. Monguor clans consist both of persons who recognize real or traditional kinship ties with the chief, and persons who do not recognize such ties but who have nevertheless adopted the surname of the chief and his kinsmen during the time that they were integrated into the group.

The current saying in the prefecture of Hsining and the sub-prefecture of Nienpei is that there are sixteen clans of Monguors. According to the *Annals* of Kansu, there are six clans in the prefecture of Hsining, and ten in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei.

618 175 162 1. The Ch'i clan, whose chief is recorded as being a true descendant of the imperial family of the Mongol dynasty.[19] Under this dynasty the Chief of the Ch'i clan was always an important official in Kansu, and on the fall of the dynasty the Ch'i T'u-ssu was the first of all the T'u-ssu to submit to the Ming dynasty in 1368, the year of its establishment.

At that time the Ch'i clan numbered eight hundred families of Monguor stock, divided into four sub-clans. In 1644, on the fall of the Ming dynasty, this clan submitted to the Manchu dynasty. It then numbered only seven hundred families, divided into eight sub-clans (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 35*a*–*b*, 36*a*). The territory assigned to them was situated thirty-five miles south of Hsining and they lived in numerous villages.

2. The Ch'eng clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is the only one of Chinese extraction, the founding ancestor having been born in Shanyang in the province of Chiangnan.[20] His father, who had been an official under the Mongol dynasty, joined the Chinese popular rising against the Mongols. The son, who followed in his father's footsteps, was rewarded with the title and office of T'u-ssu in 1374 and received 120 Monguor families as his subjects. The territory assigned to his clan is

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[18] Homer H. Dubs, Wang Mang and his economic reforms; *T'oung-pao* 35: 230–231, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1940.

[19] Ch'i is the Chinese clan name (*hsing*) adopted by the descendants of the Kiyut, a sept of the Borjigit, the clan of Chingis Khan.—O. L.

[20] Now the two provinces of Anhui and Kiangsu.—O. L.

618 seventeen miles north of Hsining and includes seven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 26*b*, 37*a–b*).

175 162 3. The Li clan. The T'u-ssu of this clan is of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor, a prominent official in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty, submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. As a faithful official of the Ming dynasty, he was granted the title of Earl of Kaoyang (Kaoyang Po), the third rank of nobility, for military services rendered to the empire. One of his successors, the T'u-ssu Li Shih-hsien, died in 1427 fighting against Mongol invaders. In 1643 the T'u-ssu Li Hung-hsien, his wife, and 120 men of his family were killed when they refused to surrender to the Chinese peasant rebels whose insurrection opened the way to the Manchu conquest of China.

This clan numbered 963 families originally, living in forty-eight villages, ten miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 38*b*, 39*a–b*).

4. The Na clan. The Na T'u-ssu is said to be of Shat'o stock. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming in 1371. The clan numbered only 150 families of Shat'o (Monguors), living in 8 villages three miles south of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 39*b*, 40*a*).

5. The Wang clan. The Wang T'u-ssu, of Monguor stock, submitted to the Ming in 1371. This clan numbered 130 families of Monguor extraction and 18 Tibetan families, living ten miles west of Hsining scattered in eleven villages (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 40*b*, 41*a–b*).

6. The Chi clan. Said to be of Shat'o extraction. The founding ancestor submitted in 1371. The clan included 90 families, living twenty miles west of Hsining (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 42). About 1875 the T'u-ssu was impeached by his subjects. The Chinese authorities erased his name from the list of T'u-ssu, and the clan passed under direct Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not record this fact.

In the sub-prefecture of Nienpei live ten clans:

1. The Ch'i clan. This clan is not the same as the clan of the same name in Hsining. Its chief is not a descendant of the Mongol imperial family of the Yüan, but is of Monguor stock. His ancestors were among the most influential frontier officials during the Mongol dynasty. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. This clan numbered 700 families of Monguor extraction. The chief lives one mile and a half north of the city of Nienpei. His subjects are scattered in many villages at varying distances from Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 44*b*, 45, 46).

2. The Li Nan-ko clan, of Shat'o stock. In the *Annals* the T'u-ssu is said to be a descendant of the Shat'o Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son founded the dynasty of the Hou T'ang. His son in turn, Li Wen, is recorded as the T'u-ssu of Hsining. This clan numbered 4,000 families of Shat'o stock, living in eight villages or valleys forty miles southeast of Nienpei. Hue

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and Gabet, Potanin, and Rockhill visited Sanch'uan where the mansion of the chief of the clan is located. The son of Li Nan-ko, Li Ying, was granted the title of Earl of Huining (Huining Po), the third rank of nobility, as a reward for military services (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 47, 48). This and the following clan are independent of each other. Each has its own T'u-ssu, and both were recognized under the Manchu dynasty as separate units.

3. The Li Hua-nao clan, also of Shat'o extraction, comprising only 100 families in 1655. The T'u-ssu lives in the city of Nienpei, and his subjects are scattered in villages to the south (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 53). The founding ancestor of this line was made a T'u-ssu only in 1655, in the early years of the Manchu dynasty, and was an offshoot of the line of Li Nan-ko. For some reason not noted in the *Annals* he received from his father or his brother 100 out of the 4,000 families of the original clan and was made a T'u-ssu.

4. The Chao T'u-ssu clan, which submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1370. This clan is of Monguor extraction. Under the Mongol dynasty it moved to Nienpei, after having lived in Mingchou, and was settled fifteen miles north of the city. The clan numbered 120 families, scattered along the valley (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48–49). At an unknown date and for an unknown reason the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of the T'u-ssu and his subjects passed under ordinary Chinese administration. The *Annals* do not mention the fact.

5. The Ah clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 150 families, and lives seventeen miles east of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 49–50).

6. The Kan clan, of Monguor stock, numbered 300 families. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371. The clan is settled 75 miles southeast of Nienpei in the valley of Mo Tou (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*–52).

7. The Chou clan, of Monguor stock, numbered only 62 families. It adjoins the Kan clan, living seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*b*, 52).

8. The Yeh clan, a small clan of 70 Muslim families of Turkish stock originating from Sinkiang. The Chinese called them Ch'ant'ou or Turbaned Heads. (See above, p. 34.) They settled in the country under the Mongol dynasty. As a military commander the founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371, together with the other T'u-ssu. The T'u-ssu of this line were eager defenders of the Ming frontier; two of them died in battle, one in 1570, one in 1638. They were settled in the Mila valley forty miles southeast of Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 52, 53). About 1890 the name of the T'u-ssu was erased from the list of T'u-ssu and his subjects became ordinary Chinese subjects. The fact is not mentioned in the *Annals*.

[P. 32a]

618 9. The Hsin clan, of Monguor stock, comprised 100 families, settled with the Kan seventy-five miles southeast
• 175 of Nienpei. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42,
162 p. 54). The name of the T'u-ssu was later erased from the list of T'u-ssu.

10. The La clan, a small group of Monguor stock. The number of families is not recorded. The founding ancestor submitted to the Ming dynasty in 1371 and was settled seventy-five miles southeast of Nienpei, near the Kan clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 54).

618 These are the sixteen groups recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, and in the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24.
177 They were all living in the country under the Mongol dynasty, and submitted to the Ming. The Ch'eng and Chi groups, in the prefecture of Hsining, and the Chao, Yeh, and Hsin groups, in the sub-prefecture of Nienpei, have now "become Chinese," and their chiefs have been erased from the lists of the T'u-ssu.

The chiefs of these Shat'o and Monguor groups still bore Mongol names when they submitted to the Ming. After having held the office of T'u-ssu for two or three generations, the chiefs adopted Chinese surnames and each group then adopted the Chinese surname of its chief.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, and especially after 1723, single Tibetan families or small Tibetan groups were enrolled in nearly all the groups. Still later, Chinese families were accepted in the same way; but the Chinese did not adopt the surname of the chief of the group.

131 The foregoing data show that the habitat of the Monguors is not limited to the district of Hsining. In addition, it may be noted that the mansion of Lu T'u-ssu,
[101] of Monguor extraction, is located at Liench'eng, forty-five miles west of the sub-prefecture of P'ingfan. This large group call themselves Monguor and the Chinese call them T'u-jen; they are neighbors of the Monguors
624 of Nienpei. In this one group there are no less than seven T'u-ssu, all claiming descent from the imperial family of the founder of the Mongol dynasty. The T'u-ssu of Liench'eng is the head of the whole group. He alone is regarded as the ruler of the subject people and possessor of the territory assigned to them by the Ming
[651] dynasty. The other six T'u-ssu hold only the title, without the powers of chieftainship. In time of war they are bound to obey the order of the senior T'u-ssu; and for revenue each of them is allowed to collect land taxes from a fixed number of villages.

624 The seven T'u-ssu of this group represent seven lines of descent from either the brothers or the sons of the
175 prince of Nanting (the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 50, pp. 55–57, incorrectly name him prince of Wu-ting). His ancestor was Kolgan, son of Chingis Khan by his favorite beauty, Kulan.[21] The prince who was living in the country at the end of the Mongol dynasty submitted

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[21] The family chronicles of this clan, which I am preparing for publication, are referred to above.

624 •175 to the Ming dynasty in 1371 as "founding ancestor" of the present line, and received the most extensive territory of all the Monguor T'u-ssu. The group numbered, according to the *Annals* of 1909, 3,245 families totalling 21,086 persons, and was divided administratively into ten banners. After the historic revolt of the Kukunor Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas, in 1723, the T'u-ssu was rewarded for his military services with the territory and inhabitants of thirteen Tibetan villages, which had belonged to a Mongol chief of Kukunor. These thirteen villages numbered 453 families, totalling 2,365 persons, at a rate of 5.2 persons per family (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87). This group is the most outstanding among the Monguor people. Many members of these T'u-ssu families were prominent military commanders and civil officials. They wielded the largest influence in the country among the Chinese officials, and were favorably regarded by the emperors of both the Ming and Ch'ing (Manchu) dynasties.

MONGUOR POPULATION FIGURES

161 The Manguor population data at the time of the Ming, taken from the *Annals* of Kansu, printed in 1909, may be summarized as follows:

Total of families ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu, 11,000
Families of Monguors belonging to 9 Mongol T'u-ssu, 5,627
Families of Shat'o Monguors belonging to the 5 Shat'o T'u-ssu, 5,303
Families of Ch'ant'ou extraction belonging to one Ch'ant'ou T'u-ssu, 70

The number of families belonging to the Monguor La T'u-ssu is not recorded. Taking a rate of five members per family, which seems not to be too high, the number of Monguors living in Old Huang Chung would be 55,000. Adding the 471 Tibetan families ruled by the Lu T'u-ssu and Wang T'u-ssu gives a total of 57,365 ruled by the Monguor T'u-ssu.

162 Striking differences in importance and strength among the clans are to be noted: the Lu clan alone ruled 3,699 families (3,246 Monguor, 453 Tibetan), and the three Shat'o Li T'u-ssu ruled 4,963 families. Then there is a sharp drop to the two Ch'i clans with 700 families each, and the remaining clans are insignificant.

It has already been noted that in each of the Monguor clans there are a few Chinese and Tibetan families, which were enrolled at different times.

EXPANSION OF THE MONGUORS OVER THE COUNTRY

175 According to the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55, and the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 14b, the population of Hsining was very thin at the beginning of the Ming dynasty. The fields around the towns, irrigated by canals, were assigned to the Chinese military colonists,

[p. 33a]

and grasslands in the extensive side valleys were assigned to each of the T'u-ssu groups for the pasturing of their herds and for the cultivation of cereals, without irrigation. The Monguors, in other words, were relegated to the side valleys after having been forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields. The account may be interpreted both as meaning that the Monguors had already begun to practice farming, and as meaning that they were able to fall back on a pastoral economy which they had not wholly abandoned.

At the beginning of the Ming dynasty it may be assumed that each T'u-ssu lived with his subjects grouped around him in the country assigned to him, since the T'u-ssu were the appointed defenders of the frontiers, the guardians of the mountain passes and of the traditional ways followed by invading nomads. Later it is said that renewed forays of Tibetans and the Mongols of Kukunor had the effect of dispersing the Monguors. Certainly the plain fact is that at present a great many of the subjects of nearly every T'u-ssu live in territories which do not belong to the T'u-ssu to whom they are subject. In order to understand the scattering of the Monguors, however, exclusive emphasis should not be put on the factor of frontier inroads and revolts. The economic factor was also important, especially the development of agriculture and the opening to cultivation of extensive valleys, notably between 1644 and 1723, when there was relatively little frontier warfare. Indeed, after frontier disturbances a population that has fled usually comes back to its original homeland, but when the people disperse and spread in order to engage in new, profitable occupations, they settle and do not return.

There is evidence for the importance of population shifts in association with economic change in the fact that according to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, pp. 5*a*-*b*) 81,707 "pieces" of land in the prefecture of Hsining were opened to cultivation for the first time during the first hundred years of the Ch'ing dynasty. In addition, 6,243 "pieces" of new land were opened in the subprefecture of Nienpei (ch. 16, p. 9*b*) and 10,499 in the Shuo, the newly organized administrative unit of Kueite (ch. 16, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*). All of this land is referred to as grassland, meaning land opened to cultivation but not irrigated by means of canals. These figures are convincing evidence of the importance of the spread of agriculture in bringing about the dispersal of the Monguors.

The establishment of the new sub-prefecture of Tat'ung, dependent on Hsining, was also a phase of this great economic transformation. After the general revolt of the Mongols of Kukunor, the frontier Tibetans, and the lamas of the whole region had been crushed in 1723-24, the military district (*wei*) of Tat'ung, forty miles north of Hsining, was reorganized as a sub-prefecture in 1761. Chinese and Muslims, in addition to Monguors, joined in the land-rush to cultivate these

[p 33b]

grasslands, because attractive terms had been offered for payment for the land after three years, with loans for seed and the use of oxen.[22] The population of Tat'ung climbed from 5,862 inhabitants in 1723–35 to 11,830 between 1736–96 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 16*a–b*) and a number of new villages were established.

Among these villages four were entirely inhabited by Monguors; three were equally divided between Monguors and Chinese, and in two the Monguors numbered 30 per cent of the population (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 12, pp. 15*a–b*). After 1796 another four villages were built for Monguors by the Living Buddha Sumpa of the monastery of Erhkulung. All the Monguors who migrated to Tat'ung in this period were subjects of the sixteen T'u-ssu settled in the region of Hsining.

Contemporary with the expansion of agriculture into the Tat'ung sub-prefecture was the opening of the splendid large plain of Weiyuanp'u, northeast of Hsining. Here again there was a land-rush, including the subjects of various T'u-ssu, who settled in scattered groups all over the plain.

The agricultural development of the region of Kueite, after the Manchus crushingly defeated the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau in 1723, is to be explained in the same way. In 1644 the population of the Kueite region numbered 2,000; in 1746, it numbered 11,560. A previous attempt had been made in 1380, early in the Ming dynasty, to use Mongols from around Hochou to colonize this region. I have often met, in Hsining, Monguors from Kueite, visiting their relatives in their old country. They told me that more than 300 Monguor families of Hsining origin were living around Kueite, scattered among Tibetans and Chinese. Their tradition was that their ancestors had left Hsining in order to make a better living.

HISTORICAL FRAME IN WHICH THE MONGUORS LIVED

In order to gain a clearer insight into the economy of the Monguors, including the shift from the pastoral to the agricultural; the expansion of many small Monguor groups from their original assigned territories and chiefs, and the building of new villages in other places; the many changes in the social organization of the clans and in the relations between chiefs and subjects; and, finally, changes in the means of living and the influence of Lamaism, among the Monguors, it is advantageous to know the historical frame in which the Monguors lived under the Ming dynasty and during the first decades of the Ch'ing dynasty. The historical data will explain the failure of the Ming policy of colonizing the country by means of the Monguor clans and of Chinese military colonies. The failure of colonization is plainly evidenced by the census of 1573–1620, which

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[22] *Tung Hua Lu* ("records" of the Manchu dynasty), Yung Cheng period (1723–1735), ch. 4, p. 39.

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records only 440 families of Chinese civilians in addition to the 2,560 families of officials and military colonists. These figures show that after two centuries there was only a tiny Chinese population while the military colony or garrison had decreased by two-thirds. This decline was due to inroads by Mongols and rebellions of Tibetans.[23]

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After the downfall of the Yuan dynasty in 1368 the power of the descendants of Chingis Khan as rulers of all the Mongols had been overthrown by the Oirats or Western Mongols. Under Dayan Khan (1479-1523) the Eastern Mongols recovered under a descendant of Chingis for a brief period. In 1457 the Mongols had occupied the Ordos under the leadership of Aruktai; in 1509, dissatisfied with Dayan Khan, the tribe of (the chief) Ipula in conjunction with the tribes of Aerht'ussu after having killed the son of Dayan, fled to Kukunor, where they arrived in 1509 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 13, pp. 13-14).[24] They subjugated the Hsi-fan tribes who had been occupying this territory and making inroads in the Hsining region for thirty-four years. Other Mongols who were dissatisfied with the power of Dayan and his successors joined the following of Ipula (Ibiri), hoping to find freedom and independence in far-away Kukunor. Chinese armies were sent to Hsining when the local military colonists and the Monguors could no longer cope with the situation, but the Kukunor Mongols, nevertheless, expanded their territory from Kukunor to Alashan (Pokotilov, p. 102).

In 1554 (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 13, p. 15*b*), Altan, the grandson of Dayan, came from the Ordos to Kukunor and the murderers of his uncle fled. In 1575 Altan welcomed the grand lama of Lhasa in Kukunor, gave him the title of Dalai Lama, built a temple, and proclaimed the religion of the Yellow sect as the religion of his subjects, but his son continued the inroads against Hsining and South Kansu and Szechuan. In 1635 the

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[23] In this period there was close contact between Tibet and the strong Mongol power created in the Ordos-Suiyuan region by Altan Khan of the Tumets, while south of the Tibet-Ordos line of contact, the Chinese agricultural country was ravaged by the Chinese rebel Li Ch'uang-wang, a native of Yenan in Shensi, who eventually sacked Peking in 1643, causing the last Ming emperor to commit suicide. Thus the Ming Empire was cut off from, and, practically powerless in, the northwestern Kansu-Hsining hinterland.—O. L.

[24] See also D. Pokotilov, *History of the eastern Mongols during the Ming dynasty from 1368 to 1634*, Part I, trans. by Rudolph Lowenthal, *Studia Serica monographs, series* A, No. 1, Chengtu, Chinese Cultural Studies Research Institute, 1947. See also the brief summary of the chaotic wars among the Mongols in this period in Chapter 2, "The period of feudal wars in Mongolia," in N. N. Poppe, *Khalkha-Mongol'skii geroicheskii epos* (*The Khalkha Mongol heroic epos*), Moscow-Leningrad, Academy of Sciences, 1937. From these sources the Chinese transcriptions Ipula and Aert'ussu may be identified with the Mongol originals Ibiri (name of a Khan) and Ordos, a tribal federation, while "Aloch'u" appears to be a rendering of part of the name of Mandulai Agulkhu, an ally of Ibiri. See also I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 191, St. Petersburg, 1829.—O. L.

[P. 34-b]

Ölöts under their chief Gushi Khan drove out the Mongols of Kukunor and established themselves in the region, and now a period of ruin and destruction began. The *Annals* (ch. 13, pp. 13-21) from 1543 to 1642 (i.e., until the eve of the establishment of the Ch'ing dynasty), list eleven forays of Mongols coming from the Ordos, besides intermittent revolts of Tibetan tribes in the region of Hsining, or on its fringes.

Gushi, hoping to stay on good terms with the new Manchu dynasty, kept quiet in Kukunor, and there were no more forays of Mongols or Tibetans until 1723; but in 1642 the city of Hsining was besieged and taken by the followers of the Chinese rebel, Li Tze-ch'eng (Li Ch'uang-wang), and in 1648 the region of Tat'ung was disturbed by a Muslim revolt which started in the Kanchou oasis.

These facts explain the decrease of the population of the country. At the dawn of the Manchu dynasty the first census records only 13,680 persons, 2,200 fewer Chinese inhabitants than when the Ming occupied Hsining and began military colonization.

Under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty, however, the unfortunate region of Hsining revived and began to flourish. In the *Annals* (ch. 13, p. 15), it is noted that by the Ch'ien Lung period (1736-1796) the population had jumped to the figure of 70,470. While the strong armies of the Ch'ing assured peace in the country, and agriculture developed because outlets were provided for its products and commerce, another factor must also be taken into account. Hsining was the most important gateway into Tibet. Its prosperity depended on trade with Tibet, without which Hsining was doomed to be a dead city. Gushi Khan, chief of the Ölöts, was the protector of Tibet and the defender of the Dalai Lama. His armies and officials were always traveling between Kukunor and Lhasa and assured the security of the roads. We must remember also that during the long period of troubles in Hsining, the roads between Lhasa and Kukunor, Lhasa and Turkestan, and Lhasa and India had always remained open. Mongol princes and tribesmen made pilgrimages to Lhasa, the capital of Lamaism, the sons of Mongol princes went to Lhasa for study, and lamas and living Buddhas traveled through the Hsining and Kukunor region to Mongolia and China, from the time of the conversion of Altan Khan, and the merchants of India and Turkestan continued their business. During the period of Gushi Khan these relations with Lhasa became even closer, and Lhasa became, and thereafter remained, the religious center of the Mongol world. Its influence was already so strong that forty-four princes could convene with three Hutukhtus to draw up the so-called Mongol-Oirat code of 1640 and plan the persecution of Shamanism among the Mongols.[25]

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[25] V. A. Riasanovsky, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buryats, Kalmuks)*, 73, Harbin, Artistic Printing House, 1929; also the same, *Fundamental principles of Mongol*

It is not surprising that when peace was restored in Hsining the commerce with Tibet and India, which had never been completely cut off, was increasingly funnelled through Hsining toward China, bringing about a great revival of prosperity in Hsining. Interesting contemporary evidence of this prosperity is to be found in the account given by two Jesuit Fathers, Grueber and Dorville, who passed through Hsining in 1661 on the way from Peking to Lhasa.[26] They describe the town as "large and populous, and from its situation near the Great Wall of special significance, it being the first gate where the Indian traders have to wait for permission to enter the Middle Kingdom." A little later Ysbrandt Ides, of Dutch origin, an agent of the Russian Tsar, traveling from Moscow to Peking and via Hsining and Tibet to India, wrote about Hsining in 1692:

> This province borders on the upper principality of Tibet, which extends to the territories of the great Mogul, from whose dominions great number of merchants come to the vast trading city of Zunning (Hsining) in the kingdom of Xiensi (Shensi), and the door of commerce being for some time opened here and liberty granted to them as well as Muscovites and Tartars to trade here, they have with their wares and trade introduced the Mohammedan religion.

He adds that the people of Gambay (Gujarat), Bengal "and other subordinate countries" are those who chiefly resort to Zunning, bringing there diamonds, jewels, elephants' teeth, wax, etc.[27]

Ysbrandts Ides' reference to Mohammedans is corroborated by a text of the *Huàng Ch'ing Chih kung t'u*, part V, p. 49, "in the beginning of the Ming, Ch'an T'ou [Turks] came from Turkistan [Hsi Yü] to trade; they settled at a place 40 *li* from Hsining and married there." The reference is probably to the place called Topa, of which Father Regis speaks in the following quotation, and where there is still a strong settlement of Mohammedans. This place was the headquarters of the Mohammedan rebels who besieged Hsining in the Mohammedan rebellion of 1868–1872. The ruins of its double walls reveal that it must once have been an important place. The only word still readable on a stele preserved there is the Chinese character "T'ang," which must refer to the claim that the place was founded during the T'ang dynasty (618–906). It is well known that from the early middle ages, the Turks, especially the Uighurs, were the traders who with their caravans traveled to Russia, Asia Minor, Mongolia, Manchuria, and China,

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law, 92 *sqq.*, Tientsin, Telberg, 1937. (N. N. Poppe, however, in his work on the Khalkha Mongol heroic epos already cited, quite rightly notes (p. 36) that while the first part of this Code constituted a "peculiar 'pact of mutual non-aggression'" between Oirats (Ölöts) and Khalkha Mongols, "in fact it was never observed by anyone."—O. L.)

[26] C. Wessels, S.J., *Early Jesuit travellers in Central Asia, 1603–1721*, 179, The Hague, Nijhoff, 1924.

[27] E. Ysbrandts Ides, *The three years' land travels of his excellency E. Ysbrandts Ides from Moscow to China*, 126, 195, London, 1705.

and that Chingis used them as guides for his military expeditions.

The Jesuit Father Regis, who by order of the emperor K'ang Hsi was engaged in mapping the Hsining region in 1708–09, "encountered at Topa, a locality 40 *li* west of Hsining, three or four Catholic Armenians having a concern dealing with beautiful skins, which they bought among the Tartars." It is clear from Father Regis' account that Topa must have been a place of considerable size, for he wrote that in it "you can find all that you want in the way of foreign as well as Chinese merchandise, all kinds of drugs, dates, coffee, and so on." [28]

Another text, encountered in Courant,[29] gives interesting data about commercial and agricultural activities in Central Asia. A Russian delegate, Ivan Unkovskii, who arrived among the Jungars, reported that

> during the last thirty years, the Jungars have developed their agriculture, cultivating all kind of cereals and grits and raising all kinds of animals; they manufacture leather and cloth and iron wares, and by means of their commerce they have relations with India, Tibet, Russia, and China.[30]

At that time the Jungars were at the zenith of their glory and their realm covered the territories between Tashkent and Turfan and between Lake Zaisan and Tibet.

These facts support the assumption that the revival of commerce and trade which had never been cut off outside of Hsining began in Hsining as soon as the Ch'ing dynasty was established. The commerce with Tibet, and India, dealt mainly with luxury articles, as these texts prove; the bulk trade in wool, sheep, and lambskins is of relatively recent date. The revival of trade encouraged not only local industries but agriculture, for the supplying of caravans.

Later in this study reference will be made repeatedly to the year 1723, when there occurred the last general revolt of the Mongols, Tibetans, and lamas of the Hsining and Kukunor region, after which, with the restoration of the Manchu emperor's authority, there were important changes in the status of tribes, monasteries, and lamas. This revolt in 1723 was the outcome of a century of Tibetan history. About 1630, in the time of troubles when the Ming dynasty was collapsing and the Manchus had not yet conquered China, the Deshi (prime minister) of the province of Tsang captured Lhasa, dethroned the King of Tibet, and assumed sovereignty over

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[28] P. J. B. Du Halde, *Description de l'empire de la Chine et de la Tartarie Chinoise*, 48, La Haye, 1736.

[29] Maurice Courant, *L'Asie centrale au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles, empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou*, Lyon-Paris, *Annales de l'Université de Lyon*, N.S. **2** (26): 68, 1912.

[30] The original text is in N. I. Veselovskii, Posol'stvo k dzhungarskomu Khun-taidji Tsevan Rabtanu kapitana ot artillerii Ivana Unkovskogo i putevoi zhurnal ego na 1722-24, dokumenty, izdannye s predislovom i primechaniyami (The mission to the Jungar Khong Taiji Tsevan Rabtan of captain of artillery Ivan Unkovskii and his travel journal for 1722-24, documents, published with an introduction and notes), *Zapiski* of the Russian Geographical Society, Division of Ethnography, **10** (2), St. Petersburg, 1887.—O. L.

175 all Tibet. As an adherent of the Red Hat sect of Lamaism, he was hostile to the Yellow sect. Gushi,[31] Khan of the Ölöts, took possession of Kukunor in 1636, driving from Kukunor the Khalkha Mongols who were adherents of the Red Hat sect. After an expedition into Khamdo in 1638, he answered the call of the Dalai Lama invaded Tibet and in 1641 defeated the Desi. Gushi Khan retained only the command of his troops of occupation. He transferred civil authority to the Fifth Dalai Lama, Lobsang Gyats'o, who became King of Tibet, took possession of the royal palace of the King, began the building of the Potala, and created the Panch'an, the second great "incarnation" of Tibet.

The Dalai Lama died in 1680. The Manchus were by then well established in China, and the emperor K'ang Hsi had long suspected the Dalai Lama and his prime minister of being in favor both of the Chinese rebel Wu San-kuei and of Galdan, the Khan of the Jungar Mongols. The prime minister[32] kept secret the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama for fourteen years, and the Sixth Dalai Lama began to take an active part in government only in 1696.

The great-grandson of Gushi, Latsang,[33] succeeded about 1700 to the position of Mongol overlord of Tibet that had been created by Gushi Khan. The new Dalai Lama, who was fond of pleasure, wine, and women, "renounced his spiritual prerogatives, although still maintaining his temporal rights and his suzerainty over Tibet," in 1702.[34] In 1705 Latsang Khan put to death the powerful Deshi or prime minister, and in 1706 he deposed the Dalai Lama and sent him to Peking. He died on the way; possibly but not certainly by foul play. A new incarnation of the Dalai Lama was then installed, who was reputed to be Latsang's natural son. In 1708, a rival "incarnation" appeared in Eastern Tibet, who soon received support among important Mongol princes of the Kukunor region.[35] It was in these developments that the great revolt of 1723 originated. The political forces at work in these intrigues may be summarized as follows: hegemony among the Ölöts, Oirats, or Western Mongols had passed to Tsevan Rabdan, of the Jungars, whose seat of power was in the Ili valley, in what is now Sinkiang province. His growing power alarmed the Manchu dynasty in China, which by supporting the Khalkhas against the Western Mongols had already acquired suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, but had not yet been able to conquer Sinkiang. Latsang Khan, in Tibet, himself a Western Mongol, did not want to submit to the overlordship of Tsevan Rabdan and the Jungars.

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[31] Referred to as Guśri, Khan of the Qóśots (Hoshuts, one of the tribes of the Ölöt federation) by L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early eighteenth century*, 8, Leiden, Brill, 1950.—O. L.

[32] He was the natural son of the Fifth Dalai Lama (Petech, *op. cit.*, 9).—O. L.

[33] Lha-bzan in Petech, *loc. cit.*—O. L.

[34] Petech, *loc: cit.*

[35] For the foregoing summary, see Petech, *op. cit.*, 12 *sqq.*—O. L.

[P. 36-b]

He therefore sought the patronage of the Emperor of China, K'ang Hsi. Among the Kukunor Mongols, on the edge of Tibet, the most powerful princes were pro-Jungar and therefore hostile to Latsang Khan in Tibet and a potential danger to the Manchu power in China. Latsang Khan's nominee for recognition as Dalai Lama was therefore favored by K'ang Hsi against the nominee supported by the Kukunor Mongols; but at the same time he succeeded in having the rival infant Dalai Lama brought to the monastery of Kumbum, within reach of his military power, which would enable him to change his policy whenever it became expedient to do so.[26]

In 1717, two Jungar armies reached Lhasa and Kumbum (near Hsining); Latsang was killed, the Potala sacked, its priceless treasures looted, and the shrine of the revered Lobsang Gyats'o demolished.[27] With the death of Latsang Khan, the Manchu emperor changed his whole policy. Many of the Tibetans, especially in certain powerful lamaseries, had at first welcomed the Jungars; but the conduct of the Jungars had been so savage that there was soon a willingness to resist them. In 1718 the Manchu-Chinese forces moved into Tibet. After a severe defeat in 1718, they took Lhasa in 1720, with little fighting, the Jungar forces having been concentrated to meet forces coming from China on another line of march. As part of their new policy, the Manchus had recognized the "alternative" Dalai Lama (who was in the eyes of most Tibetans the légitimist claimant), and they now installed him in Lhasa.[28]

Tibet was now completely a Chinese protectorate. Manchu military efforts shifted away from Tibet toward the Jungar homeland in Sinkiang. As part of the new policy in Tibet, no effort was made to restore the former overlord position in Tibet of the ruling family of the Hoshut Mongols, the descendants of Gushi Khan.

In 1722 the emperor K'ang Hsi died. His successor, reigning under the style of Yung Cheng, attempted a policy of military and financial retrenchment. In 1723, in an attempt to take advantage of the situation, a rebellion was started among the Kukunor Mongols, led by Lobsang Dantsin (Blo-bzan-bstan-adsin in Petech, *op. cit.*), chief of the Kuknor branch of the Hoshuts and son of the second son of Gushi Khan, and therefore an uncle of the deceased Latsang Khan. His rebellion was supported by important monasteries and ecclesiastical dignitaries in the Hsining region. As it would, if successful, have cut the Hsining route from China to Lhasa and opened the way to a return of the Jungars, both the Manchu-Chinese and the Lhasa authorities reacted vigorously, especially the forces under General Nien Keng-

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[26] Petech, *op. cit.*, 15-18.—O. L.

[27] The raid on Kumbum failed in its primary objective, which was to get hold of the person of the "alternative" Dalai Lama. Petech, *op. cit.*, 35.—O. L.

[28] Petech, *op. cit.*, 58-61. See also W. W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa and their relations with the Manchu emperors of Tibet, *T'oung Pao* 11, Leiden, Brill, 1910.

• 175 yao, whose office was that of "warden of the marches." Monasteries in Hsining were pillaged and burned, nobles and ecclesiastical dignitaries were degraded in rank, and the administration of the Kukunor-Hsining region brought under tighter control. Throughout the region, administrative units and the local distribution of Mongols and Tibetans, lasting until the end of the Manchu dynasty, date from the measures taken at this time.[30]

The Monguors, however, retained their political status, for it is said in the *Huang Ch'ing Fanpu Yao Lüeh* (ch. 11, p. *7a*), that "their troops under the command of the T'itu Yueh Chung-ch'i, the right hand of general Nien Keng-yao, fought in the repression of the lamaseries and of the Tibetans and Mongols." It was as reward for his outstanding services that the Lu T'u-ssu received a group of thirteen Tibetan villages as his subjects.

A memorable date in the history of Hsining is 1723; from that time on it was effectively organized on the pattern of a Chinese prefecture, peace was restored, and both agriculture and trade began to flourish.

This year was also a turning point in the history of the Monguor clans; the Monguors became definitely stabilized in their agricultural economy and expanded all over the country, many of them leaving their chiefs; new means of living were available, and consequently many changes occurred in their social organization.

III. ORGANIZATION OF THE MONGUOR CLAN

COMPOSITION OF THE CLAN

769 In 1913 the festival of Ch'ing Ming, one of the most important all over China for the veneration of ancestors, fell on April 5. On that day I attended the famous yearly diet of the Ch'i clan, held in T'angpa at the graveyard of the founding ancestor of the clan. This diet was celebrated throughout the region for its display of pomp and grandeur; but that year all who attended were afraid that this might be the last such diet to be held. The atmosphere was heavy with depression and dejection, for rumors were current that the institution of T'u-ssu might be abolished by the Chinese Republic which two years before had replaced the Manchu Empire. The other clans had cancelled their celebrations, and in fact this proved to be the last such assembly ever held with the old magnificence and splendor.

The diet was a real revelation for me, a veritable seminar in ethnology. It was divided into three phases: the

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[30] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82–88. It is characteristic of China, with its vast extent and poor communications, that regions and regional history are strongly marked. Often a region, especially a frontier region, is more strongly affected by some great local event than by much greater, but more distant events that merely threw a shadow in passing. Thus the Lobsang Dantsin revolt, though of minor importance in the histories of either China or Tibet, was of major importance in its effects and lasting consequences in the region of Hsining and in the destiny of the Monguors.—O. L.

[p. 37-6]

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In a clan structure grouped under a single clan name, the principle of exogamy is in theory supposed to be strict, but the practice varies somewhat from the theory, again indicating that the nominal clan includes a true genealogical clan together with families that have been assimilated to the clan. In a Monguor clan it is, for example, permitted for Monguor men to marry girls of families of known Chinese or Tibetan origin who have enrolled in the clan. I have also been told that among some groups of the commoners in the Li and Lu clans, Monguor boys marry Monguor girls of the same clan. They claim that in permitting such marriages they follow the practice of the Chinese, who allow marriages between families bearing the same surname (especially if it is one of the very common surnames), if the two clans are considered to be descended in fact from different original ancestors. Exogamy is, however, strictly observed among the noble or elite families who do claim true genealogical descent from a common ancestor; but once in a while a poor noble marries the daughter of a commoner of his clan.

If we may accept it as proved that the commoners are of different descent from the nobles, we are still faced with the problem of determining the real origin of the commoners. The Monguors, when asked about the difference between nobles and commoners, say that "things have always been that way." It is not surprising to find among the nobles, however, vestiges of a tradition explaining how they acquired their subject commoners. I have been told by no less than three T'u-ssu—the Ch'i, Li, and Ah—that the commoners are descendants of tribes which had been conquered by the ancestors of the T'u-ssu.

PROCESS OF CLAN FORMATION AT THE TIME OF CHINGIS KHAN

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For a comparison we may turn to the record of what is known about the way that Chingis Khan allocated territories and subjects to his sons, brothers, and leading generals. Vladimirtsov has described how Chingis assigned territories to the nobility that he created as a result of his conquests, and how he gave them sometimes whole tribes and sometimes fragments of tribes to live in these territories and be ruled by them.[4] The result was a social structure in which—as we see in miniature in the surviving Monguor society—the nobility were quite clear about their claims of descent, either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors," while the subject population, of diverse origin, were less clear about their genealogies but closely associated with their rulers in a manner that remained partly tribal but had become partly feudal. Under this system, there was a protocol which nominally required each ruling prince or noble to furnish to his sovereign a

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ing the name of their suzerain clan, under the orders of the latter."

[4] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 124, 125, 127.

[p. 39 b]

618 • 175 definite number of troops, whenever required, according to the size of his territory and the numbers of the population. Such appanages could be under the rule not only of families descended from the imperial clan, but of families whose "founding ancestors" were antrustions.[5] The origin and social condition of the commoners among the Monguor clans are clearly to be explained in this manner.

It appears probable that the Monguor groups began to form in this way as early as the rule of the Yuan or Mongol dynasty. At the very beginning of the Ming dynasty we find the chiefs of all the Monguor groups submitting to Chinese rule, but we do not find any record of groups of the Monguor type being actually created by the Ming emperors. We may therefore suppose that generally speaking the Monguor commoners of today are the descendants of families who were already subject commoners in the Mongol period before the Ming dynasty, with the later addition of a number of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. As to the manner in which such later additions could be made, I have already mentioned the fact that the Lu T'u-ssu received from the Manchu emperor thirteen Tibetan villages, numbering 2,365 persons to be his commoners and subjects, as a reward for military services rendered during the historical revolt of 1723 (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 87).

175 The processes of clan formation thus resulted in the evolution of four kinds of clan chiefs:

618 1. Chiefs who, with their related nobles, claimed descent from the Mongol imperial family of the Yuan;

624 2. Commoners who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

3. Antrustions, individual warriors, who became chiefs of clans and founded their own noble families;

4. Chiefs of clans who submitted voluntarily to the Yuan dynasty with their nobles and commoners.

CHARACTERISTICS OF CHIEFS AND NOBLES IN THE MONGUOR CLANS

175 624 Among the seventeen Monguor clans, two are recorded in the *Annals* of Kansu as being descended from the imperial family of the Yuan dynasty: the Ch'i clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 35) and the Lu clan (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 55). The family chronicles of the Lu clan, as already mentioned, are in my possession and I am planning to edit and publish them.

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[5] This term, taken from early European feudalism, is used in the French translation of Vladimirtsov for the Russian term *druzhinnik* which Vladimirtsov uses to translate the Mongol term *nukur*, literally "friend." In the simplest terms, a *nukur* was a free warrior who voluntarily attached himself to the leader of a war-band, establishing a relationship of personal loyalty transcending all clan and other obligations. Some of the greatest commanders who served Chingis Khan began as *nukur*. Mongol *nukur*, Russian *drug*, "friend," whence *druzhinnik*, and Greek *ξένος*, "guest-friend," all have a root meaning of "other," "foreign" (to my own clan); institutionally they share with Latin *comes*, whence the title "count," the meaning of an association formed personally, not by circumstance of birth.—O. L.

[P. 40a]

175 624 The Shat'o Turkish clans were already settled in the country before the invasion of the Mongols, and submitted to them when the Mongols founded the Yuan dynasty.[6]

There are no historical references available for the origin of the chiefs and the nobles of the other Monguor clans nor was I ever able to find any surviving traditions on the subject.[7]

They may have been founded by military commanders who were commoners by birth and perhaps antrustions by career. Such founders of clans would be given subject families in reward for their services; and, as the reward would be proportionate to the services rendered, the number of families thus allocated would be larger or smaller. Since commanders had to recruit their troops among their own subjects, the number of families allocated to them as subjects was determined by their military rank. According to this reasoning the military rank of the chiefs of the smaller Monguor clans must have been low. It may be that the small clans were small at the time when they submitted to the Yuan dynasty, and that their chiefs were accordingly made military commanders of small units.

175 The influence wielded by the Shat'o group in Hsining during the Yuan dynasty must have been very important, for at the time of their submission to the Ming, Li Nan-ko held one of the highest civil offices in Hsining, that of T'ungchih, while his nephew held the office of Tutu chihhuei t'ungchih. What could have been the reason for the extraordinarily friendly feelings of the Mongols toward the Shat'o Turks?

The son of Li-K'o-yung, the famous prince of Chin, founded in China the ephemeral dynasty of the Hou T'ang, which lasted only from 923 to 936. After the overthrow of this dynasty, one branch of the Shat'o fled to the Yin-shan range, north of Suiyuan, and was later entrusted with the protection of the northwest frontiers of the Chin empire (1115–1260). These Shat'o were called the Wang-ku (Ongut) of the Yin-shan. A second branch fled to Lin-t'ao, in southern Kansu, where they were known as the Wang-ku of Lin-t'ao. These Shat'o were later transferred by the Chin to Liao-tung (Manchuria). At the beginning of the thirteenth century Alakush Tegin, chief of the Onguts of the Yin-shan, betrayed the Chin emperor and followed and aided Chingis Khan, with whom he entered into alliance in 1206. In 1209 Chingis gave his daughter Alaghi Beki to the eldest son of this Ongut chief. Ongut troops aided the Mongol general Mukhali in subduing China.[8]

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[6] *Cf. Wu tai shih chi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*; Ponapen edition.

[7] For the founding in Kansu province of a noble family of Uighur origin, under the Yuan dynasty, see F. W. Cleaves, "The Sino-Mongolian inscription of 1362 in memory of prince Hindu," *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Stud.* **12** (1 & 2): 1949.—O. L.

[8] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 630, 1914. A. J. H. Charignon, *Le livre de Marco Polo* **1**: 247–248, Peking, Nachbauer, 1924. H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of North China*, 114–133–139, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

[p. 40-b]

•175 But the third branch of the Shat'o[8] was at that time grazing its herds in the country of Huang Chung between Hsining and Kanchou. It may well be that the Mongol invaders were glad to join hands with them in 1226, and to entrust high offices on the Tibetan frontier to their chiefs. Although these Shat'o Turks held high civil offices under the Yuan, however, nothing is known about the military appointments that they held during this period.

DEVELOPMENT OF CLAN STRUCTURE

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624 While each of the Monguor and Shat'o clans settled in Kansu before the founding of the Ming dynasty, the present rank of the "T'u-ssu" in each clan traces back to an appointment early in the Ming dynasty; and on the date of this appointment depends, in turn, the division of the descendants of the first T'u-ssu into Houses, each with its own property.

THE POSITION OF THE T'U-SSU

The genealogical register of each clan accordingly starts with the appointment of the first T'u-ssu. The family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu line start with T'o-Huan (Tógon), who was granted the title of Prince of Nanting under the Mongol emperor, but was first appointed T'u-ssu of the clan by the Ming. In the register of his genealogy are recorded only his descendants; his brothers, kinsmen, and even his parents are not mentioned. In this way he and not his father was established as the founding ancestor of the new clan. It was to him that the Ming Emperor assigned a territory; he was confirmed by the Emperor in the "possession" of his subjects, who were by the imperial decree forbidden to abandon him.

The brothers of such a founding ancestor could not lay any claim either to the possession of any piece of land inside his territory ~~or~~ to any group of his subjects; if they were allowed to live on his territory and received some subjects, it was merely by an act of grace on his part.

Not only does the genealogical register of each clan start with the first T'u-ssu, but at his death the Monguors started building a new cemetery in which the mound of the first T'u-ssu occupied the prominent site, thus indicating the beginning of a new order; at the mound of this founding ancestor, in the "old graveyard," as it is now called, the ancestors are venerated on the day of the yearly diet of the clan. Similarly, the image of the first T'u-ssu occupies the central place in the temple of the ancestors of the clan. All of these facts confirm that the first T'u-ssu is regarded as the founding chief and real origin of the clan.

The T'u-ssu forms a unit with his offspring who are classified as being of his "bone." The Monguor family

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[8] According to *Wu Tai shih-chi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*, Ponapen edition

175 624 being based on the agnatic principle, the oldest son inherits the leadership of the clan, after the death of his father.

By the beginning of the present century (1911–1922), however, the T'u-ssu was no longer living in one group with his noble kinsmen; he was not the provider of all their needs, including food and clothing; he and his nobles no longer constituted a large family; and T'u-ssu and nobles were no longer living entirely at the expense of the commoners.

The nobles were by this time living in separate and distinct families, each forming an independent economic unit. Consequently some were poor and some rich. In this economic aspect, there was no longer a distinction between nobles and commoners. Noble families bought and sold land, cattle, and grain to each other and to commoners in exactly the same way, and the rise or fall of a family's fortunes depended on the industry or laziness, the good or bad fortune, of its members.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NOBLE HOUSES

175 618 In the inheritance of wealth among nobles, however, there is a peculiar institution to be considered. In each clan the nobles are divided into branches, called "houses." In some clans there are three houses, in others four or five; in the Li clan there are thirteen. Each noble family knows the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called "the great House," the second is called the second House, and so on. Each house comprises the descendants of one of the sons of the founding ancestor of the clan who was appointed T'u-ssu at or soon after the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. During his life, the wealth, grain, cattle, cultivated land, and money of the founding ancestor were divided among his sons. If there were three sons, the eldest by right of being the first born succeeded his father as T'u-ssu and chief of the clan; but the property of the founding ancestor was divided in three parts. The new T'u-ssu and his two brothers each inherited one part, with only the distinction that the eldest son received a somewhat larger portion of fields and cattle. The privilege of a large portion was passed on to the eldest son in each succeeding generation.[10]

The number of houses established according to the number of the sons of the founding ancestor has continued ever since as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify each other by houses, saying "I belong to" or "he belongs to the third House." In principle, also, the patrimony of each house was permanently established at this first division. In practice, however, if the descendants of either the great House or one of the junior houses

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[10] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 224. "the Mongol feudal seigneur . . . usually received his fief by inheritance and transmitted it to his son. Mongol seigneurs apportioned inheritances to their sons during their own lifetime, reserving the essential part of the heritage to the eldest son, after their death." The old custom of preserving the principal fief of the father for the youngest son had disappeared by the time of the Yuan dynasty.

618 175 grew numerous they could subdivide the patrimony; the new subdivisions would then continue as independent households or families responsible to each other in vicissitudes of wealth or poverty.

In Monguor society since the Ming, only the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of the commoners. None of the houses disposed of commoners as subjects. It is quite clear, however, that in former times among the nomads each group of nobles was a real possessor of subjects. Subjects and territory were regarded as assigned to the clan by the emperor and were understood to belong to the whole clan and not to the chief alone. Accordingly, when a noble was at odds with the clan, he could leave it, taking with him his portion of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or found a new clan. In this way it often happened that when clans were at war with each other, there would be subgroups in each of them that belonged to the same "bone," although they were engaged in killing each other.[11]

The idea of the collective "ownership," by the blood-related noble families, of the subject commoners persists more strongly under a nomad economy, for obvious reasons, than it does under an agricultural economy, but memories of it persist among nomads who have become farmers. This concept seems to have prevailed among the Shat'o, who before the Ming dynasty were already divided into two groups, one of 4,000 families and one of 963 families. The chiefs of each of these groups were made T'u-ssu. Later, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the T'u-ssu Li Hua-lung of the line of Li Nan-ko died without issue and troubles broke out over the succession. The Manchu empire appointed a claimant named Li T'ien-yu as T'u-ssu, but allowed the troublesome pretender Li Hua-nao to take 100 families from the 4,000-family group, and granted him a separate title of T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 24, p. 8)

Trouble among the noble families of the Lu clan seems also to have been the reason why six members of this clan were created T'u-ssu (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 52, pp. 58–59). The craving for subjects, based on the old custom, seems to have been the cause of these troubles, although the *Annals* gloss over the matter, as is often done in Chinese chronicles to "save face," by allowing it to be understood that each of the six new T'u-ssu had deserved his appointment through meritorious service on the Tibetan frontier.

624 175 The same lingering tradition that the nobles had or ought to have a right to dispose of a number of subjects may account for the fact that, in lieu of a division of subject commoners among the sons of a founding ancestor, each of the houses was assigned the land tax revenue of a fixed number of villages of commoners. This meant that when the patrimony of the founding ancestor was divided, the land taxes of the villages followed the division of the inheritance. Here again the

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[11] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79.

[p 42a]

624 175 eldest son, succeeding as the new T'u-ssu by right of being the first born, had a distinguishing privilege. The land taxes due to him (in the form of grain) had to be brought to his mansion, while the junior houses had themselves to collect the taxes from the villages assigned to them.

624 651 175 578 At the beginning of the Ming dynasty, when the houses were first established, the tax revenues must have provided a comfortable living for each house, and it is probable that they needed no other income to live at leisure, at the expense of the commoners. After a few generations, however, as the descendants of each house became more and more numerous, the collection of taxes became increasingly a problem. Divided and subdivided claims to a share of the revenue became insufficient to maintain the claimant families, and were inevitably the cause of quarrels and feuds. In the end, claims to the right to collect subdivided fractions of the land tax became chronic sources of trouble not only among the families constituting the house, but between them and the commoners from whom the revenue was collected.

624 651 578 In some houses the constituent families agree with each other to take turns collecting the available revenue, but this leads to disputes every year and sometimes to fierce fighting. It is not unknown for two or three families to go to the villages, trying to collect the land taxes in competition with each other. When this happens, the villagers are angered and demand that the families who lay claim to revenue patch up their quarrels and adjust their claims before the villagers open their granaries. Those who claim a right to collect revenue, on the other hand, resort to various kinds of deceit in trying to extort more from the villages and to get more than the legal or customary amount. In such problems and quarrels the T'u-ssu himself is involved because by tradition it is he and not the houses who fixes the rates at which levies are collected.

624 651 563 The sources of income of a T'u-ssu are more varied than those of a noble house. The T'u-ssu collects the land taxes in the villages which form the portion of his own house, and in addition collects a number of special taxes which provide his personal revenue. Most of these taxes are collected from Chinese living or trading within his territory. When Monguors who belong to his clan buy livestock, wool, skins, or grain they do not pay a tax on the transaction. On such transactions the Chinese, however, do pay a tax, and so do Monguors of other clans when they engage in such transactions within the territory of the T'u-ssu. Chinese shopkeepers, blacksmiths, and innkeepers living within the clan territory pay taxes. Imposts are levied on rafts and boats on rivers running through the clan territory. At the diets or clan assemblies, and at festivals at Lama monasteries in the clan territory, taxes are collected from Chinese merchants. Payments must also be made for the registration of title deeds to land and houses, and

618 578 611 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and appointed by the clan.

● 175 618 578 611 According to the *Annals of Hsining* (ch. 24, p. 8) the last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to the same generation in order of descent from the clan ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succession. In order to put an end to trouble within the family, one hundred families of commoners out of the four thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that in most cases the choice and appointment of a new chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies [562] [428] without male issue. In any case, a daughter never succeeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect, as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family organization, the rules of ordinary family succession tally with those that govern the succession of the chief of the clan, and the head of the family presides over religious cult practices within the family as the chief presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however, his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state, formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of succession as far as it can be checked by historical documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest son received his portion of the inheritance while his parents were still living and moved away to live as the head of his own family; the next son, in due course, similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest son was left to care for his parents in their old age and to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom, the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the youngest son, while the most distant related camp was that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

796 the clan. The whole clan, he says, is happy to express its obedience and its willingness to help and serve him;
618 the clan hopes that he may be as glorious a chief as his ancestors of old in defending the clan and its component families.

The new clan chief first kneels down and bows nine times to his maternal uncle; then the noble members of the clan of generations senior to that of the new chief stand in line before him, salute him reverently three times, and join hands. The new chief, at the command of the master of ceremonies, then kneels down and bows nine times to them, touching the earth with his forehead at each bow.

The noble clan members who are of the same generation as the new chief then line up, kneel down, and (again at the command of the master of ceremonies) reverently bow their heads nine times to the earth before their new chief, after which the new chief acknowledges their homage by greeting them in the same way. Finally, the members of generations younger than that of the new chief perform the ceremony, but this time the new chief makes acknowledgment only by a standing bow, not by kneeling and bowing his head to the earth. Finally the whole group of commoners and officials kneel down and bow nine times to the bowing T'u-ssu. The whole group then goes to the hall of the ancestors, where paper and incense are burned by the newly appointed chief. Those present bow their heads reverently while standing in rows according to their rank and generation, in time with the command of the master of ceremonies. The ancestors are thus supposed to have received the announcement of the appointment of the new chief. Then all go to the temple of the guardian deity of the clan.

As I shall discuss the importance of the maternal uncle in Monguor society in a later chapter, I shall here make only a brief comment on the fact that [illegible] significant moment when, in a society organized on [illegible]rilineal family system, the eldest son of the first wife succeeds to office as the chief of the clan, it is his maternal uncle who has the place of honor. The occasion being one in which ancient customs are likely to be preserved, we are entitled to assume that the importance of the maternal uncle goes very far back in the history of Monguor society.

THE CLAN CHIEF BECOMES A CHINESE OFFICIAL

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The chief of the clan must next be considered in his function as T'u-ssu, an office that he holds by the appointment of the sovereign state of which the Monguor clans are quasi-feudal frontier dependents. Under the Mongol Empire, the Monguors were entitled to consider themselves kinsmen of the Mongol rulers of China. When the Mongol Empire fell and the Chinese Ming dynasty was established, the Monguor chiefs who submitted to it did so as the result of a decision of supreme importance; by adhering to the Ming dynasty they renounced the alternative of retreating into Inner Asia

[P. 45-b]

624 •175 618 with other Mongol tribes, denounced in effect their ties of tribal loyalty to other Mongols, and declared their willingness to serve as feudal subordinates guarding the Chinese frontier against the inroads of Mongols, Tibetans, or other "outer barbarians." When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-ssu, they ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese emperor.

THE T'U-SSU INSTITUTION

The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal groups on the frontier of the Empire. The first historical record of an institution comparable to that of T'u-ssu is to be found in the institution of the Chimichou, under the T'ang dynasty (618–906). Under this institution the T'ang dynasty organized "barbarian" subject tribes in "circumscriptions" ruled by hereditary native chiefs who received investiture from the emperor.[16] The institution of T'u-ssu was known under the Yuan or Mongol dynasty, was reorganized and given its definite form under the Ming dynasty, and was continued under the Manchu dynasty. It survived under the Chinese Republic.

As an institution, the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal, non-Chinese peoples, attached to but not yet absorbed into the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that of China as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native chief" and as Chinese official.

CHOICE OF CLAN CHIEF RATIFIED BY EMPEROR

624 648 The choosing of a new chief by the clan itself has already been described. This choice had then to be ratified. This was done through the administrative office of the T'u-ssu, acting as a bureaucratic office and not as the personal office of the T'u-ssu, which sent an official notice of the death of the previous T'u-ssu to the governor of the Province, to be forwarded to the capital at Peking, giving the day, hour, and circumstances of the death of the T'u-ssu. At the same time a petition was sent, through the same channels, imploring the emperor to appoint to the office of T'u-ssu the man whom the clan had selected as its new chief. In the event that the new chief of the clan was a minor, the petition requested that his mother be appointed regent. The emperor, granting the petition, then appointed the new clan chief to the office of T'u-ssu (or, if the son were a minor, appointed his mother as regent). The mother's regency ended when the son married or when he reached the age

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[16] P. Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'école Française d'extrême Orient*, 1125, 1904. Leng Shun-Sheng, T'u-ssu chi tu, in *Frontier affairs* (*Pien cheng Kunglün*) 3 (2): 11–12, 1944.

[p. 46a]

624 648 796 The "locking" and "opening" of the seal emphasized its ritual importance. Every year, as the year drew to an end, on an auspicious day chosen about the twentieth of the twelfth month, it used to be the custom to "lock up" the seals of all Chinese officials. This signified that the officials were taking a vacation and that administrative matters would not be acted on again until after the New Year. The Monguors took over this practice. At the "locking up" of the seal, they invited their officials for dinner, and then all went home.

Soon after the fifteenth of the first moon, an auspicious day was chosen for the "opening of the seal." All officials under the T'u-ssu were required to attend the ceremony, together with the chiefs of villages and the most prominent members of the clan. Disposed in rows, they made the ceremonial prostration nine times before the seal and went to the ancestral temple and the temple of the guardian deity to honor them and to invoke their protection during the new year. An important meeting then followed at which administrative matters were discussed, and this meeting was in turn followed by a dinner. Ordinary routine was then resumed. Among the Mongols of the Ordos, as described by Father Mostaert,[22] a still great reverence is attached to the seal. It is treated as a cult object held in veneration throughout the year, locked in a special ornamented case in the palace of the prince of the Banner, with a lamp burning before it day and night. The opening of the seal is carried out in a more ceremonial manner than among the Monguors. A traditional speech is given by one of the most distinguished officials before the ceremony of veneration is carried out by those present.

ROLE OF CLAN CHIEF AS CHINESE OFFICIAL

WARDEN OF THE MARCHES

•175 As a vassal of the overlord state in China, the T'u-ssu has the function of a warden of the marches. When the Mongol dynasty fell in 1368, it was already rotten at the core and torn apart by struggles between internal factions. Knowing that all hope for the restoration of a Mongol dynasty was lost, most of the chiefs of Mongol tribes living in Kansu submitted to the Chinese generals who led the Ming armies into this strategic province bordering on Tibet, Central Asia, and Mongolia. The Chinese, for their part, resorted to the policy, familiar to them for some two thousand years, of using barbarian vassals along the frontier as a screen against more remote barbarians.[23] They accordingly granted titles to the chiefs of the tribes that submitted, in order to make use of them in defense against the still hostile

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[22] A. Mostaert, "L'ouverture du sceau" et les adresses chez les Ordos. *Monumenta Serica* 1, Fasc. 2: 315, Peiping, Catholic Univ., 1935.

[23] The relationship between "inner frontier" and "outer frontier" has been described by Owen Lattimore. *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 86, 238–251, 2nd ed., New York, American Geog. Soc., 1951.

Mongol and Tibetan tribes on the northern, western, and southern borders of Kansu.

The most important chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu at this time were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were scions of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty, and the Li clan of the Shat'o Turks. These three had been among the highest officials in Hsining under the Mongol dynasty. Because of their local influence, backed by troops of their powerful clans, they were delegated to negotiate with neighboring Mongol and Tibetan tribes, still hostile to the new rulers of China, with whom they had friendly relations, to urge them to submit to the Ming dynasty. Most of the chiefs of the region submitted. Those who held out were subjected in campaigns carried out either by Monguor troops alone or by Monguor and Chinese troops working together. The *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 10–12) record sixteen successful campaigns of this kind in the first years of the dynasty.

From this time on the Monguors remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and then under the Manchu dynasty. A number of T'u-ssu fell in battle against invading Mongols and Tibetans, and Monguor troops fought as far afield as Sinkiang in Central Asia, Tat'ung on the Inner Mongolian frontier of Shansi Province, and Yülin on the frontier between Shensi Province and the Ordos. The military system of the T'u-ssu vassals was geographically based on control of the passes on the routes of trade and possible invasion in the mountainous frontier country. Most Tibetan and Mongol forays threatening the region that is now the province of Ch'inghai were launched from [illegible] south and southwest. In order to reach the city of Hsining, these invaders had to cross the passes of the mountain range called Lachi Shan, which runs almost parallel with the upper Yellow River and is the watershed between the Yellow River and the Hsining River. The two powerful clans of Ch'i (800 families) and Li (963 families) were, therefore, settled at the approaches to these passes. To them were added the 150 families of the Na clan. In time of peace they farmed and herded cattle. Whenever there was a raid they mobilized to fight the invaders. All through the year a few soldiers were kept on duty to watch the passes. There were 69 villages of these three clans along this part of the frontier (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 36*b*, 37, 40). In the dangerous valley to the north of Hsining the two vulnerable passes of Lungku and Yenwangku were guarded by the T'u-ssu of the Ch'eng clan, with 120 families living in seven villages near the pass (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 37). In the valley west of Hsining there were two dangerous passes, Haitzeku and Paitiehku, which were guarded by the Wang and Chi T'u-ssu with 220 families (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 42*a–b*). Where the celebrated Chinese general, Ho Ch'ü-ping, had settled the oldest colonies of which there is any record, in 116 B.C., the T'u-ssu of the Li

175 clan with his four thousand families were stationed to guard the mountain passes between the Yellow River and the Hsining River, with the T'u-ssu of the Ah clan and his 150 families to the east of them (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 48*a*–50*b*). On the southern side between the mountains and the Yellow River there were six T'u-ssu, those of the Wang, Chou, Yeh, Li Hua-nao, Hsin, and La clans, with a total of 632 families, guarding several passes and the boat ferry across the Yellow River (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 51*a*, 52–54, 57). In the mountains on the north of Nienpei the Ch'i and Chao T'u-ssu with a total of 820 families guarded four important passes (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, pp. 46*b*, 49*b*).

The country thus described forms a strategic triangle between P'ingfan, Lanchou, and Nienpei which is the key to the frontier between Kansu province and the Mongolian plateau, through the natural depression which separated the Nan Shan from the Yin Shan. Its importance was recognized as early as the first Han dynasty (202 B.C.–A.D. 8), when the Chinese occupied it in order to prevent the Hsiungnu in Mongolia, the ancestors of the Huns, from joining hands with the Ch'iang or early Tibetan tribes in Kansu. During the Ming dynasty, Mongol tribes from Alashan and the Ordos, invading Tibet by way of Kukunor, usually forced their passage through this country. Because the ancestors of the T'u-ssu of the Lu clan had already settled in this country under the Mongol dynasty, the Ming dynasty assigned it to the Lu clan, which with its 3,245 families became the guardian of the eight passes in the mountain range called Chitzeshan and the ferry passage across the important Tat'ung River. Their villages were scattered throughout this territory (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 58*a*).

While the Monguors were thus allocated to the valleys leading up to the frontier passes, the Chinese planted colonies of their own people in the vicinity of the main towns. Thus the situation was one in which the Chinese colonies depended for their safety on the loyalty of the Monguors, and the authorities accordingly treated the Monguor T'u-ssu as important people and favored subjects.

GUARDIAN OF THE PEACE IN HIS TERRITORY

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The T'u-ssu, though a subordinate official of the Chinese overlord state, was treated as a petty sovereign in his own territory, not to be interfered with by Chinese officials in the administration of his hereditary subjects. Except for capital punishment, the T'u-ssu governed his people according to Monguor custom. His vassal status, however, was shown by the fact that he could be called to account if his administration was unsatisfactory. The T'u-ssu was responsible for maintenance of his own troops, and was expected not only to take the initiative in stopping raids from across the border, but to suppress banditry. He was responsible for the security of the roads passing through his territory and

[P. 50a]

624 175 648 could be held to account for the murder of any traveler on these roads. Under the Yung Cheng reign of the Manchu dynasty, the important monastery of Erhkulung, in the territory of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, joined in the great insurrection of 1723. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was punished for failing to control the insurgent monks. His subjects were taken away from him and inscribed on the register of Chinese subjects under direct Chinese administration, his territory was confiscated, and he was deprived of his rank. A large number of his subjects, however, revolted against the Chinese and joined the insurrection which was still going on. The Chinese authorities therefore compromised. The Ch'i T'u-ssu was asked to summon his subjects back to their allegiance, and was promised that his forfeited rights and privileges would be restored if he succeeded. The promise was carried out and he was in fact reinstated as T'u-ssu when he contributed to the suppression of the insurrection by bringing his subjects back under control.

651 648 173 624 In connection with this recorded historical incident there may be cited a tradition concerning an ancestor of the T'u-ssu of the Li clan, who was condemned to have his head cut off, his territory confiscated, and his subjects brought under direct Chinese jurisdiction, for failing to crush a revolt. Other T'u-ssu intervened on his behalf, however, because of the meritorious services rendered to the empire by his ancestors, capital punishment was commuted, and he and his descendants were instead to be required to pay in perpetuity a tax called *ch'iu liang*, "the tax of supplication." After one or two years, however, according to the tradition, the humiliating word "supplication" was replaced by the Chinese character meaning "autumn" which is also pronounced *ch'iu*, as a "face-saving" concession. The tradition is supported by the statement in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 16, p. 5a) that a special "autumnal tax" was yearly collected from the Li T'u-ssu, but the Li T'u-ssu and his subjects explain away the whole matter by saying that at some time in the past, when the Chinese officials were in difficulties because of insurrections, and were short of grain and flour, the Li T'u-ssu of that time, recalling the favors bestowed on his ancestors for centuries past, magnanimously and voluntarily offered to pay this perpetual "autumn tax." Thus the clan has its own "face-saving" version of the tradition.

EXTRATERRITORIAL JURISDICTION

651 648 624 701 The emperor, as overlord, had a special interest in the fact that the Monguor troops required neither pay, provisions, nor weapons, but were maintained completely at the expense of their own clans. As compensation, the Chinese officials were not allowed to impose land taxes on the Monguors or to requisition labor services from them. The Monguor soldier, since he was considered to be perpetually on frontier duty, could not also be requisitioned for labor; nor could he be drafted

[p. 50-b]

174 have lost their old language before they appeared on the frontiers of Kansu? Further, the impact of the Mongol culture in Asia is generally underestimated: the appeal of the Mongol culture to the nomadic tribes in the thirteenth century in fact was overwhelming, and Mongol was then the language of the rulers of Central Asia, Mongolia, and Manchuria. Many tribes of Turkish origin exchanged their language for the different but closely related Mongol language. This assumption is evidenced by the fact that among the Mongols of today are encountered many names of clans of Turkish origin. Whole groups, such as the Onguts of the Yin Shan who were of the same Shat'o origin as the Monguors, and had fled together with them to China in A.D. 808, became Mongols, speaking only Mongol. The descendants of the Nestorians of the Ordos, who were probably of Turkish stock, are today thorough Mongols.

On page 57 of the *Huang Ch'ing chih kung t'u* is the last note related to the subject of the Monguors:

> The Chi T'u-ssu of Nienpei is a descendant of Mongols of the Yuan period, but he does not belong to the imperial family. . . . The 20 tribes he governs in the locality called Tatzewan are the tribes he originally governed.

The names of these tribes are not given, however. These tribes were certainly Mongols, as is indicated by the place name Tatzewan. "Ta-tze," originally the Chinese transcription of "Tatar," is to this day commonly used in Chinese instead of "Mongol," especially in the frontier regions, and often with a condescending or belittling connotation. *Wan* is a "bend" in a valley; hence Tatzewan is "Tatar Bend" or "Mongol Bend." Concerning these Monguors the Chinese author notes that their houses, food, and customs are similar to those of the neighboring people, by whom the Chinese are meant, as the context indicates, as are their customs connected with marriages and funerals, and then goes on to state that they also observe many Tibetan customs. He thus seems to make a clear distinction between these Monguor commoners and those ruled by the various T'u-ssu whom he has previously mentioned, and this distinction seems to strengthen the hypothesis of a difference of origin between these two groups of commoners. These are the only sources available for solving the problem of the ethnic origin of the Monguor commoners. A majority of Turkish element is probably to be assumed among the commoners of the Monguor clans ruled by T'u-ssu.

CHINESE

175 177 In the seventeen Monguor and Shat'o clans, in addition to the original stock who came with their chiefs from Mongolia to settle as wardens of the marches, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned above, there were also Chinese and Tibetan families who enrolled in these clans during the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier. There are no records of the earliest enrollment of Chinese, but it does not seem likely that "many" Chinese were enrolled before

175 177 the beginning of the Ming dynasty in 1368, because the census recorded in the *Annals* for 1573–1620, which has already been cited, notes only 440 Chinese civilians in the Hsining region.

It has also been pointed out that for nearly a century and a half at the end of the Ming dynasty, and most of a century at the beginning of the Manchu dynasty between 1509 and 1723, the country never enjoyed real peace for long at a time, because of intermittent Mongol and Tibetan forays and revolts, and that only after 1723 did agriculture begin to develop and the region to flourish. From then on it may be assumed that many Chinese immigrated and settled in the country, engaging in both farming and commerce.

The Chinese have always looked down on the Monguors and Shat'o with real contempt, as barbarians. I have often heard the story, well known over the Monguor country, of the enrollment of the first two Chinese in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu. This was during the Yung-lo period, 1403–1424, when two young Chinese soldiers deserted from the military colony of Hsining, fled to the Narin valley in autumn and worked for Shat'o farmers in the fields. These two boys came from Nanking and were named Pen and Pei. They married Shat'o girls, remained in Narin,[80] and enrolled in the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, where their numerous descendants are still living and well acquainted with the story of their ancestors. Even after five centuries the whole group kneel together facing in the direction of Nanking on the last day of the twelfth moon and burn paper and incense sticks to honor them. On the day of the general veneration of ancestors, in April, they again burn paper and incense, first for their old ancestors in Nanking and then for their more recent ancestors.

It was probably similar stray Chinese without families who enrolled in Monguor clans during the period from 1368 to 1723. Later, in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who enrolled in the clans. The most numerous enrollments were after the disastrous intermittent Muslim rebellions, when many Chinese lost all their wealth, families were broken up, and individuals fled to the Monguors to begin life anew.

After the great rebellion of the Muslims between 1868 and 1875, the whole province of Kansu was ruined. The population was reduced from seventeen million to eleven million. The impoverished T'u-ssu, wanting to revive their revenues, were eager to allow poor Chinese to settle in their territories. The Chinese came in as refugees in the most pitiable condition. They began by working for Monguor farmers. Then the men married Monguor girls and were glad to become owners of land, which was less expensive than in the country under direct Chinese administration. They were well aware of the lighter Monguor taxes and corvées, and as they be-

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[80] This place name is from Monguor *narin guor* (Mongol *narin goul* or *narin gol*), "narrow valley." See De Smedt and Mostaert, *Dictionnaire*, as cited, 125.—O. L.

[P.55-b]

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came accustomed to Monguor life they willingly became subjects of the T'u-ssu, assuming the obligations and duties imposed on commoners. These Chinese did not drop their surnames to adopt that of the T'u-ssu, and are, therefore, different in surname from the rest of the clan; but they mingled with the Monguors, living in the same hamlets and villages. There are very few hamlets in which only Chinese live. Very few of them adopted the Monguor dress, and few learned the language. Some of the formerly poor Chinese, growing wealthy, have become outstanding people in the clan, pushing themselves forward and getting jobs in the T'u-ssu administration, where the pattern was the same as that of China, with all its assets and drawbacks and squeeze and bribery.

While the Monguors have absorbed or partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture to be lower than that of the Chinese. Many of them are ashamed of their "barbarian" origin, repudiate their Monguor or Shat'o descent, and claim to be of Chinese origin; they dress like Chinese and speak only Chinese.

It is not easy to give even an approximate figure for the number of Chinese enrolled in Monguor clans, partly because so many Shat'o and Monguors claim to be of Chinese extraction. For that reason it is possible that the number of regularly enrolled Chinese families is not as large as it seems to be. In every clan, however, real Chinese are numerous. The general rule seems to be that they are descended from individuals and single families, not from groups which joined the Monguors in considerable numbers at any one time. However, a large group of Chinese bearing the surname of Pao lives in Pient'an and is enrolled in the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu.

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Professor Lattimore draws my attention to the fact that Chinese with the clan name of Pao (which may be written in several different ways) frequently if not usually claim to be descended from the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. This suggestion raises problems in connection with Monguors who use the name of Pao. On the one hand, this group is often referred to in ordinary speech as "Yuan Pao," which might be held to suggest "Pao of the Yuan [dynasty]," and hence descent from the Borjigid clan. On the other hand, there is no written record that identifies the Pao as "Yuan" Pao. On the contrary, the Pao families under the Lu T'u-ssu are listed as commoners, and as such have to pay taxes and are subject to corvée and military service; whereas the Lu T'u-ssu and his noble relatives claim descent from the imperial clan of the Mongol (Yuan) dynasty through Kölgen, son of the celebrated favorite of Chingis Khan, Kulan. If, therefore, the Pao families were really of Mongol descent, how could they have become commoners under a T'u-ssu also descended from the imperial family?[81]

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[81] Pao is also used by Mongols descended from Khabtu Hasar, brother of Chingis Khan. The possibility should, therefore, be

175 177 551 Father A. Mostaert tells me that Taiji (i.e. descendants of the imperial line of Chingis Khan) of the Otok Banner of the Ordos Mongols, when they have much to do with the Chinese and need to use a clan name in the Chinese style, take the name of Pao, from the first syllable of Borjigid. The Taiji of the Ushin Banner of the Ordos Mongols, however, prefer to take as a Chinese clan name Ch'i, from the first syllable of Kiyut (Kiyat), which is well known as the sept or subdivision of the clan of Borjigid to which belonged Yesugei, father of Chingis Khan.[82] Possibly the explanation may be that among the Monguors noble families with the name of Ch'i descend from Chingis Khan, while families of commoners with the name of Pao have only a vaguer, undocumented claim to descent from the larger Borjigid clan of which the sept of Kiyut (Kiyat) was a particular line.

In this connection it is worth noting that, among all the seventeen Monguor clans, the general rule is that the use of a Chinese surname begins only with the third or fourth generation from the founding ancestor, with the exception of the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where the Chinese form Ch'i is found from the very beginning, with the supporting statement, in both the *Annals* of Hsining and the *Annals* of Kansu that the Ch'i line was descended from the line of Chingis Khan.

175 551 The clan name of the Lu T'u-ssu is also of special interest. This line expressly claims Mongol imperial descent, yet its Chinese clan name is neither Pao nor Ch'i. The explanation is provided in the family chronicles of the Lu T'u-ssu. In 1410 a Chinese army suffered a disastrous defeat on the river Kerulen, in Outer Mongolia, and among those who perished was the son and successor of the founding ancestor of the Lu line, who as a frontier feudatory had been summoned to take part in the Chinese expedition into Outer Mongolia.

To erase the memory of this disaster the Ming ordered that the Chinese name for the Kerulen River be changed from Luch'ü to Yinma.[83] At this point the family chronicles of the Lu clan (which, as already mentioned above, I am now preparing for publication) chime in with official history. In these records, the biography of the third T'u-ssu of the line, son of the T'u-ssu who died in battle on the Kerulen River, says that in 1414 he was ordered with his troops from Kansu to Hsüanhuafu, on the frontier between North China and Inner Mongolia, and that in a battle on the river Kant'an he made prisoner a Mongol general.

The emperor then said: In former times Tan, duke of Chu, made a punitive expedition into the region of Yenhsi. The King of Ch'eng gave him, as appanage, the

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taken into account that in the Monguor usage lineal descendants of Chingis Khan, if they used the clan name Pao, were distinguished as "imperial" Pao, while collateral descendants were considered commoners.—O. L.

[82] The Mongol terms are *omog* (*obog*) for the main clan, and *yasu(n)* or "bone" for the sept or subdivision.—O. L.

[83] Pokotilov, *History of the Eastern Mongols*, as cited, 28.

[P. 56-b]

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country of Lu. Your family submitted [to the Ming dynasty] long ago, and has fought bravely in many expeditions in far-off regions; your glorious achievements may be compared with those of the duke of Chu, and I therefore bestow on you the name of Lu. From that time, says the chronicle, the line [that is now] Lu changed its clan name to Lu. Unfortunately, however, the chronicle does not say whether the clan name was previously Pao or Ch'i.

There remains to be mentioned the use of double names, called in Chinese "*fu hsing*," borne by a very few Monguor families. I noted only 5 such names: Ho-Li chia, Pao-Ma chia, Chang-Li chia, Yuan-Pao chia. The *Pai chia hsing*, the traditional list of Chinese clan or family names, records 408 single and 30 double names, and the few double names encountered among the Monguors are not included among the 30. What may account for the Monguor double names has always been a mystery to me. I was never able to determine whether the few families of commoners bearing these names were genuine Chinese, or sinicized Monguors, or Tibetans.

TIBETANS

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In addition to the Chinese there are in some clans large numbers of Tibetans but they appear to have joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese.

In the Li clan there are 20 Tibetan families living in the Narin valley and 60 families, still wearing Tibetan dress but speaking Monguor, in Hsiatsantze ("Lower station"). These 80 families are scattered remnants of the Tibetan K'eelurk tribe. In Tseilin[34] valley lives a group of 40 Tibetan families, and another group in Shuimokou ("Water-mill valley") of more than 100 Tibetan families who speak Monguor, but still dress in the Tibetan fashion, who once belonged to the famous Yang T'u-ssu of Choni monastery in T'aochou prefecture. They adopted the name Li.

In the Ch'i clan there are 32 Tibetan families speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, in Tungtsantze ("Eastern station"). They belonged originally to the two Tibetan tribes of Kairtsen and Nguertsa. In Chungtsantze ("Central station") are 40 Tibetan families also speaking Monguor but dressing like Tibetans, who formerly belonged to the tribes of Mach'i and Ch'iaok'o.

In the clan of the Wang T'u-ssu there are 18 Tibetan families.

In the clan of the Lu T'u-ssu there are 453 Tibetan families, scattered in 13 villages numbering 2,365 persons. For this big group, there are historical data. They are descended from families granted to the T'u-ssu by the emperor as a reward for his strong support in

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[34] This place name, especially as the second syllable is written with the Chinese character for "grove, wood," may be a Chinese form from Monguor *dziari*, given in the *Dictionnaire*, as cited above, as "bois sacre," with a suggested possible further derivation from Tibetan *ts'al*, "bois."—O. L.

[P. 576]

177 erals, Ma Fu-hsiang, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Hung-pin, and other military leaders all belong to this group.

In the course of the Ming dynasty a few small groups of Mongols who had at first been hostile submitted to the Ming and were settled in Kansu. In the region of Paonan, near Kueite, there still live five groups of these Mongols, whose curious fate it was to become Muslim in religion and Tibetan in language; they are called the Wut'ung[37] Mongols.

All of these groups the Chinese of Hsining call Mongols and not T'u-jen, and the seventeen Monguor clans discussed in this book are unable, because of the peculiar evolution of their own language, to talk with these Mongols in the dialects they speak; they know that they are Mongols, but say that they do not belong to the same stock. A comparative study of the social organization and the language of these groups would be interesting and important, but I have never had the opportunity to undertake it.

THE T'U-SSU AND HIS SUBJECTS

624 Up to this point both nobles and commoners have been referred to as "subjects" of the T'u-ssu. The relation is in fact somewhat complex, involving not only the relations between T'u-ssu and nobles but those between nobles and commoners.

The T'u-ssu, in the nature of the origin of the T'u-ssu institution, was formerly the ruler of the clan with the support of and by the appointment of the emperor. Although he is of the same "bone" as the nobles, the authority and prestige that set him apart and above the nobles are unlimited. From the point of view of the overlord state, the entire authority in the clan, civil and military, is embodied in him alone, and nobles as well as commoners are his subjects. The only limit on his power is that he cannot inflict capital punishment. He also represents the leadership and prestige of the sacred founding ancestor of the clan.

T'U-SSU ULTIMATE OWNER OF THE CLAN TERRITORY

From the emperor, the T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan. These territories were originally assigned, according to a military plan, to screen the frontier, at a time when the Monguors were still nomads, and it may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories. We must, however, beware of the idea that "nomads" are concerned only
175 with cattle-breeding. Travelers in Mongolia, medieval and modern, have noted—often with astonishment—the
311 wide distribution of farming practiced by nomads. It is true that the farming done by nomads is rudimentary and
41 crude compared with intensive Chinese farming, but it is also true that nomads always attempt a little auxiliary farming wherever climate and soil permit. The Monguors must, at the beginning of the Ming dynasty, have

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[37] Possibly from a mistaken Chinese transcription of Mongol *khotong*, "a Muslim."—O. L.

[p. 58a]

311 been nomads who already knew something about farming.[38]

•175 241 The historical picture, which includes traces of ancient irrigation before the settling of the Monguors, and new Chinese agricultural colonies introduced under the Ming, indicates that the Monguors increasingly adapted themselves to an environment in which farming was possible and profitable. It is possible that with the growth of population there was no longer room for a preponderantly pastoral economy, and possible also that constant border warfare resulted in severe losses of cattle. Whatever the reason for the shift from pastoralism to agriculture, however, it brought with it important social problems, because the economic system of a people determines the rules under which property is held.

311 241 The nomad economy is extensive, and requires room for migration between winter and summer pasture. Farming—even non-irrigated farming—is intensive compared with pastoralism, and brings with it a shift of values from the wide, windswept pastures to the small, sheltered, cultivable plot of land.[39]

The farmer's year of toil is centered on a definite piece of land. If he is a free farmer and not a mere serf, his property interest is identified with that land, and with his right to dispose of it by sale or legacy. This interest is different in kind from that of the nomad in mobile livestock. We may, therefore, well expect changes in the social psychology of the Monguors to accompany the shift from a predominance of pastoralism to a predominance of agriculture, even though the Monguors never became as exclusively agricultural as the Chinese.

423 In the Monguor society there is an adaptation between the principle of the absolute ownership of the territory by the T'u ssŭ and the principle of private property among members of the clan. The principle of the T'u-ssu's absolute ownership being recognized by the over-

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[38] L. Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie: Turcs et Mongols des origines à 1405*, 49-50, Paris, 1896, sums up the matter in the words: "It is possible that there may have existed nomads limiting themselves exclusively to meat, milk, and the wool of their herds; but no such nomads have ever been known in historical times." Owen Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, *Geographical Jour.*, London, Jan 1936, writes (p. 5) that "the history of the steppe peoples is not independent of the history of agricultural communities," and also draws attention (p. 14) to the agriculture of the Orkhon Turks in Northern Mongolia in the middle ages. He again refers repeatedly to semi-nomads and marginal nomads in his *Inner Asian frontiers of China*, 2nd ed., New York, Amer. Geog. Soc., 1951. K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-seng, in *History of Chinese society: Liao, Trans. Amer Philos. Soc.* **36**: 120-121, 1949, recapitulate the views of a number of writers, but make the mistake of assuming that when William of Rubruck, in the thirteenth century, speaks of "villages in the south" from which Mongol lords drew tribute of millet and flour, he means villages of Mongol farmers. It is clear from the context that the reference is to tributary, sedentary, non-Mongol peoples.

[39] For the "extensive-intensive" range between hunting, steppe pastoralism, rainfall agriculture, and irrigated agriculture, see Lattimore, The geographical factor in Mongol history, as cited above, 6.

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701 651 ten horses. The farmers brought a suit against the sixth House in the Chinese court. The case dragged on for many years, during which both sides spent a great deal of money, and finally the farmers were compelled to give four *tan* of peas. But during the subsequent Muslim rebellion of 1891–1895 the sixth House absconded and the farmers were compelled to provide ten soldiers and horses, together with fodder and equipment. After the rebellion new complaints followed one after another and finally in 1918 the stubborn villagers refused to recognize any military burden.

701 The small scale of traditional frontier warfare is shown by the fact that only one T'u-ssu was called upon to furnish as many as 300 soldiers, 100 of them mounted. The contingent of another T'u-ssu was 150, including 50 mounted men; two others had to furnish 100 men each, 5 of them mounted (*Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42; *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 18, pp. 3*a*, 4*a*). Among these figures I have not been able to find those for the contingent of the Lu T'u-ssu. If his contingent numbered 300, like that of the Li T'u-ssu, the total for all the Monguors would be only 1,275 men. But it is said that he disposed of 700 Monguor soldiers and 300 lama soldiers.[50] 705 175 The Monguor troops, except for those hired by their own villages, received no pay, but when they were on active service the imperial commissary provided them with salt, tea, and flour. The troops were, however, entitled to any booty that they could capture. In the Ming dynasty, according to the *Annals* of the Province, ch. 42, p. 47*a*, an expedition was sent to Turkistan (Sinkiang) to punish the tribes of Hantung and Chiuhsien in 1423. This expedition was commanded by Li Ying, who had the title of Count (Po) of Hui-ning. His forces consisted mostly of Monguors, and they returned with a booty of more than 140,000 cattle. More recently, in 1918, a group of Monguor soldiers participated as volunteers in an expedition against the Ngolok Tibetans of Kukunor. They returned after half a year, each man with a booty of nine cows

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[50] In time of war, however, it is evident that some T'u-ssu, at least, were able to raise more troops than the number required of them according to the formal lists. Thus in the Tibetan insurrection of 1723 the Chinese general Yueh Chung-ch'i enrolled 2,000 Monguor troops for the defense of the passes, according to the *Tung Hua Lu*, a Manchu imperial chronicle, 3rd vol. of the reign of Yung Cheng, 1st year, p. 29; a thousand Monguors of the Lu T'u-ssu fought at Chitzeshan, according to the *Ch'ing Shih-lu*, an archive of materials collected for the writing of a formal history of the Manchu dynasty, Bk. 144, ch. 13, p. 8; Monguors (number not given) commanded by Chiang Tung destroyed the monastery of Shihmen and killed seven hundred lamas and Tibetans according to the same source, Bk. 145, ch. 16, p. 28, and others helped to quell the revolt in the region of Kueite, according to the *Huang Ch'ing Fan-pu Yao-lüeh*, an imperial publication dealing with "barbarian" affairs, ch. 11, p. 7*a*. Previous to this, in 1720, Monguor troops of the Li T'u-ssu had accompanied the Manchu-Chinese expedition sent to drive the Jungar Mongols out of Lhasa, according to the *Wei Tsang T'ung-chih* (*Annals* of Central Tibet, ch. 13, p. 2*b*), and *Annals* of the Province of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 38*b*.

705 and twenty sheep, and loaded with kettles, ropes, felt
● 175 coverings for tents, lamb skins, and wool.

The Monguor soldier wore a turban of blue or black
714 cotton cloth. The distinctive part of his uniform was
a sleeveless jacket of red cotton cloth, with yellow
trimmings and a circular patch of white on the chest
and back. On these circles were written three Chinese
characters reading "Monguor soldier" and the clan
name of his T'u-ssu. These white circles on the red
jacket made bright targets for the enemy. The soldier
was expected to report for duty with an old musket and
a sword. For every unit of ten men the village had to
provide a tent, a kettle, and one pack horse, in addition
to riding horses for the mounted men. The horses are
shod only on the forefeet, as in medieval Europe.

651 As has already been described, each T'u-ssu formerly
had the responsibility for guarding certain passes leading
to the Tibetan plateau. At these passes detachments
of Monguor troops were stationed even in times of
peace, and at these posts they had the right to collect
taxes from caravans. Other traditional taxes and
levies were also for the maintenance of troops. Up until
recent times, for instance, the Lu T'u-ssu had the right
to tax all rafts going down the Tat'ung River past his
town of Liench'eng. This tax was collected according
to the number of steering sweeps on each raft. The Lu
T'u-ssu's soldiers also collected taxes from Chinese
traders buying horses, mules, cows, sheep and pigs in
527 his territory. The Monguors were exempted from
651 these taxes. Twice every year the Lu T'u-ssu inspected
all his troops in the valley of Kuch'eng ("Old City").
These occasions were celebrated with horse races and
wrestling matches, and there was a large market attended
by an enormous crowd. The troops collected
taxes from merchants attending this market.

701 Soldiers were also required for peace-time duty at
the mansion of the T'u-ssu, as sentries, body guards,
651 and official messengers. They also maintained order
among the crowds at the great religious celebrations at
the monasteries built in the territory of the T'u-ssu, and
at the time of the annual clan meeting. On such occasions
they also collected taxes from Chinese merchants.

TRIENNIAL INSPECTION

624 According to protocol, a T'u-ssu should make an inspection visit every three years (in some cases, every two years) to all the villages of his subjects. This visit is called the "descent among the subjects," and in the course of the visit the T'u-ssu should make a count of the number of his subjects and check on the administration of the villages, in order to make a report to the Chinese officials representing the overlord state. This triennial tour is one of the main sources of income of a T'u-ssu.

The tour begins on an auspicious day fixed by a lama. Monguor soldiers from the first village to be visited on the tour come to the mansion of the T'u-ssu, with some

•175 was acting as regent of the most powerful of all the Monguor clans, the Lu clan, went so far as to send valuable presents to the Muslim general, Ma K'o-ch'eng, in Hsining, who was the all-powerful warlord of the region, imploring him to become the "dry father"—that is to say, the adoptive father and protector—of her adopted son of eleven years of age. The general accepted and the boy and his mother traveled the long distance from Liencheng to Hsining in order to perform the filial rites symbolizing the "dry fatherhood."

618 •769 It was in these circumstances that I had the great good fortune to attend probably the last gathering of a clan that was held with the pomp and splendor of former days. This was the clan of the Ch'i T'u-ssu which carried out the ceremony of venerating the founding ancestor at the old cemetery, called Ch'i-chia fenyuan, or "cemetery of the Ch'i family," at T'angpa. According to the old custom, such an assembly should be held every year at the grave of the founding ancestor, on the Chinese festival of Ch'ing Ming, when ancestors are honored all

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834 used to sing and to dance. It is not at such times that regrettable things happen; but at night, when the festivities are over and most of the people have returned home, it is not unusual to see young couples scatter into the surrounding countryside, into valleys in retired places, and to hear them sing the whole night long, answering each other's songs, each couple hidden in its own place. Allowance seems to be made for such customs at such times; but necessarily these groups are not numerous, for mothers with children have to go home and to take care for them, and all Monguors have children. The morality of the Monguors, who live in villages and are occupied with farming, is undoubtedly on a higher standard than that of the nomad Mongols. Monguor families on the average seemed to me to be happy families that worked hard but enjoyed life.

VI. MONGUOR ECONOMIC LIFE

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An analysis of the economic life of the Monguors must begin by taking into account the shift from pastoral nomadism to settled farming. The shift probably began gradually when the Mongol conquests in 1275 drove the Tibetans back along the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, and the ancestors of the Monguors occupied the country and began to amalgamate with the Shat'o Turks who were already there. Specific historical data for the Mongol period are scarce, though we know that in 1287 a son-in-law of Chingis Khan, whose Chinese name was Chang Ch'i, was made governor of the region (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, p. 8*b*). We know also that the ancestors of the Monguors began to submit to the new Chinese Ming dynasty in 1368–1373, that each T'u-ssu and his clan were then allotted a fixed territory, and that, between 1368 and 1399, 7,200 Chinese families were sent as military colonists to this frontier (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 15*a*).

THE HISTORICAL SHIFT FROM PASTORALISM TO FARMING

The next important date is 1509 when the Mongols of the Kukunor plateau of Tibet began to disturb the frontier with their inroads. From then on all through the period of decline of the Ming dynasty and the wars and disturbances that attended the founding of the Manchu dynasty in 1644 and right up to the great Tibetan uprising of 1723 this frontier country was never long at peace. It was during this long and troubled period that walled towns and villages were built for better defense. We may well assume that it was during this period that the number of livestock decreased, partly because of the border raids and partly because of the difficulty of maintaining large herds in the relatively small side valleys inhabited by the Monguors, with the consequence that the Monguors became more and more dependent on the farms adjacent to their fortified villages.

[p. 110 b]

311 175 In 1723, therefore, when a long period of peace and stability began, the Monguors on the one hand had become farmers rather than herdsmen though they still owned far more livestock than Chinese farmers, and on the other hand communications opened up and trade began to flourish. The great city of Lanchou in Kansu provided a market for grain grown by the Monguors, which could be floated down the Hsining River into the Yellow River, which flows past Lanchou. At the same time, with the pacification of Tibet, another market opened up for grain carried by caravan into the high plateau. The population increased, new villages were founded, and the land tax became the main source of revenue of the Monguor T'u-ssu.

The transition was so complete that the Monguors have no longing for a return to the nomadic life. In this they are different from the border Tibetans, among whom the nomadic life still carries more social prestige than settled village life.[1] The Monguors, however, appear to confirm the rule that peoples of Mongol origin, like the Turks, make the shift from pastoralism to agriculture only under the compulsion of events.[2]

FARMING

241 Their farming having developed in contact with the Chinese culture, the Monguors used the farming implements of the Chinese (and not, for instance, those of the Turkish-speaking oasis farmers of Chinese Inner Asia). They buy their plowshares, spades, and other iron tools from Chinese smiths, but make the wooden parts themselves. Their farming is, however, inferior in technique to that of the Chinese. The region is too high and cold for the most intensive kind of Chinese farming, and, therefore both Chinese and Monguor farmers in the highest parts never grow the same crop on the same field for two consecutive years and try to leave each field completely fallow for a year after it has been harvested.

For fields near the villages, composted stable manure is used as a fertilizer. Every other day the women go out and bring in earth in baskets on their backs which they empty in the stables. The animals trample their dung and urine into this earth, and the floor-level of the stalls and the cow and sheep pens is gradually built up. At the end of a year, when the planting season begins, this composted manure is dug out and carried by the pack animals to the fields.

Farther away from the village ashes provide the only fertilizer. In the seventh or eighth moon, after the ground has been softened by a day or two of summer rain, a piece of land is selected and all the livestock are driven out to it and kept there, trampling the sticky earth for a whole day. The next day this top soil is

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[1] R. B. Ekvall, *Cultural relations on the Kansu-Tibetan border*, Chicago, Univ of Chicago Press, 1939, especially pp. 76–79.

[2] Hermann Vambéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, 176, Leipzig, 1885.

177 369 441 467 by the caravans. Only the guilds of large towns, like Hsining, had connections with the guilds of other cities and could afford the cost of sending boats and rafts to Lanchou, the capital of Kansu. In this way the entire economy was dominated by the city merchants. The fair and festival centers never grew to the extent of themselves becoming important cities, because they were unable to attract permanent merchants, since the attendance of the people was only seasonal and there [illegible] no permanent security. These local fairs merely provided the farmers at certain dates with their peculiar usual necessities of life.

177 369 441 651 Merchant activity provoked deep repercussions in the Monguor society, whose nobles and commoners, during centuries of disorder, had lived a rather precarious existence, their economy being limited by the boundaries of their clans and the production only of necessities within their own small groups. Both the economic and the political organization of the Monguor clans had been founded exclusively on the possession of territory. Taxes, corvées, military service, and the administration of justice had been rooted in the ownership of territory by the T'u-ssu, the commoners being affected in a peculiar and disadvantageous way. The collection of the taxes of certain villages by the "houses" of the nobles had, however, been reduced to negligible significance after four centuries, and the financial conditions of nobles and commoners had become more equal. Some of the commoners, who were more numerous than the nobles, had become richer than the best of the nobles, and rivals in wealth even of the T'u-ssu. Since wealth and riches are equated, in Asia, with prestige and authority, it is no wonder that members of the commoner group were easily accepted to fulfill the offices of chiefs and elders in the villages, and that the administration of the villages passed into their hands. In this way the new economic conditions tended to equalize, and perhaps even to reverse, the original social inequality between nobles and commoners. Under the peace and order of the Manchu dynasty, the city merchants were protected. Headstrong and daring young men followed the caravans to Lhasa and made money by selling mules and horses. Monguors could open small shops in the countryside, and invest capital, in association with the Chinese merchants, in oil and flour mills. Fishermen could venture to Kukunor, and others to burn charcoal in the mountains or saw planks to sell in the city. Peace provided the opportunities for taking risks in commerce, and the focus of these opportunities, which transformed both the economic and the social life of the Monguors, was the city.

VII. CONCLUSIONS

624 175 At the end of this study of the origin and organization of the Monguor clans, their constituent elements, their chiefs, their internal rights and obligations and the actual administration and family and economic life, it is perti-

nent to review the political character of the T'u-ssu institution, and the reasons for its decay.

There can be no doubt that the T'u-ssu institution was regarded by the rulers of the Empire, whether they were Chinese or Manchu emperors, as a makeshift. The institution of the T'u-ssu as "wardens of the marches," as it had existed under the Mongols, was elaborately established under the Ming dynasty, after 1368, when the main forces of the previous rulers, the Mongols, had been driven out of China but were still dangerous enemies beyond the frontier. The new Chinese rulers were only too glad to accept the submission of the chiefs of small frontier tribes who were willing, in exchange for the continuation of their local powers and privileges, to defend the frontier against their own kinsmen, the Mongols, and against the Tibetans. The device was one familiar to the Chinese tradition of "using barbarians to control barbarians."

Although the Monguors repeatedly proved themselves loyal defenders of the frontier, they had thereafter to contend against a counter-process. Any empire, in exact proportion to the efficiency of its centralized administration, prefers to exercise direct control of its frontiers rather than to depend on vassals who have some degree of local autonomy. Consequently, whenever the central power in China was strong, it tended to take advantage of local dissensions among its frontier vassals in order to deprive them of their privileges and to bring them under direct administration.

The policy of the Chinese empire on its frontiers had always been to absorb barbarians and to make Chinese of them if it could. Until 221 B.C. when the famous Ch'in Shih-Huang unified China for the first time, both Chinese and barbarians lived in tribes under a feudal regime. Ch'in Shih-Huang abolished this regime and organized China under *Chün* and *Hsien*. This was the first radical administrative revolution in China bringing "provincial" subdivisions under a "metropolitan" central administration. People living in the *Chün* and *Hsien* were considered to be Chinese. People still living under a tribal regime were considered to be "barbarians." At the beginning of the Han dynasty, in 202 B.C., the *Hsien* in which Chinese and barbarians lived together, governed by the same Chinese officials, were called *Tao*. Wu-Ti, emperor of the Han dynasty from 140–86 B.C., after his conquests which brought many new barbarian frontier tribes under Chinese rule, tried to make Chinese of them and to include them within the Chinese administrative regime of *Chün* and *Hsien*. His system did not work for long. Intermittent dynastic revolutions, and the numerous and bloody changes of dynasties which lasted for seven centuries, enabled the barbarians to reestablish their old feudal regimes along the northern frontiers. Under the T'ang dynasty, from A.D. 618 to 906, administrative units called Chi-mi Hsien were organized, in which the tribal chiefs served as Chinese officials but were allowed at the same time to administer their tribes

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according to their old customs. They received official appointments from the emperor, and had to bring tribute to him every year or three years, and were granted titles to indicate their feudatory status. The Yuan or Mongol dynasty (1280–1368) allowed non-Chinese "barbarians" to govern themselves according to their own tribal customs. The Ming (1368–1644) at first followed this precedent, appointing tribal chiefs and allowing them to govern their own tribes; but Chinese officials were sent to examine the tribal chiefs and their administration, troops, taxes and corvée systems from time to time. Later they appointed Chinese civil officials, whenever possible, attaching them to the tribal leader who held military command. Among remote tribes this mixed system did not work well, but the next step was to abolish the regime of the hereditary chiefs, hoping by this means to bring division in the tribe and to enfeeble it with every appointment of a new chief. Finally, when this system also did not work well, a ministerial order was given to avoid the word "hereditary" in the official request for the appointment of the new chief. By this device a son was prevented from succeeding his father, unless he presented a fixed sum to the high officials in order that they might overlook the formally enacted law. The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming.[1]

It is clear from this historical sketch that the Chinese empire, whenever it was strong and enjoyed internal peace, tried to absorb autonomous barbarian territorial units and frontier chieftains. It tolerated them only when and where it was unable to absorb them. The T'u-ssu institution may, therefore, certainly be regarded as a device that the Chinese of the Ming dynasty adopted for the defense of the frontier only because they had to. Not confident of their ability to establish direct Chinese rule and administration in Mongolia, their intention was to build up a buffer between themselves and the Inner Asian world of Tibet, Turkistan, and Mongolia. They were content, therefore, to accept the submission of individual frontier tribes which were unable to combine with each other in a strength sufficient to threaten China, but were able to supply small, separate contingents of good warriors to screen and defend the frontiers. The chiefs of such tribes they were willing to reward with honors and military titles; they were equally ready, however, when no danger threatened from beyond the frontier, to depose these border chieftains, to bring their lands under direct Chinese taxation, and their subjects under immediate Chinese jurisdiction.

It is a remarkable fact that the institution should have survived for six centuries. The reason must be that the Ming dynasty was weak along the frontiers during its first decades, and again in the period from 1509 to its fall in 1644, and had to depend on auxiliaries. Under the Manchu dynasty the T'u-ssu were valuable to the

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[1] Lung Shun-sheng, Article in Chinese on the T'u-ssu institution, in *Frontier Affairs* 2 (11–12), printed in Chungking during the war, 32nd year of the Republic, 1943.

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175 624 Manchu policy, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, of preventing unity among the Eastern, Northern, and Western Mongols. In the nineteenth century, as the dynasty became less Manchu and more Chinese in its characteristics, the T'u-ssu were honored by the court in distant Peking, and were kept loyal and complacent by gifts and grants of honors—a policy ancient and widespread in the Orient.

Practically, the main factor in prolonging the survival of the institution was the feudal right of the T'u-ssu to prevent their subjects from leaving their territories, aided by the fact that because Chinese officials were unable to levy direct taxes on Monguors, life was on the whole somewhat better in Monguor territory than in territory under Chinese administration. As these factors later came to be equalized by the combination of the decreasing power of the T'u-ssu and their increasing exactions from their subjects, the most obvious phenomenon of the breakup of the T'u-ssu institution was the ability of subject Monguors to abandon their T'u-ssu with impunity and move into territory under direct Chinese control.

177 563 Among the disruptive factors within the Monguor society the most powerful was the enrollment of Chinese and Tibetans in the Monguor clans. The Tibetans were culturally more akin to the Monguors than the Chinese, and easily adopted the Monguor costume, traditions, and language; but their matrilineal kinship system undermined the patriarchal clan structure of the Monguors. The Chinese, on the other hand, penetrated the Monguor society without being absorbed by it. When a Chinese asked for the protection of a Monguor T'u-ssu and enrolled in a Monguor clan, it was for the deliberate purpose of making the best of two worlds. His object was not to become a Monguor, but to escape both the taxes that he had to pay to the Chinese authorities and the taxes that, as a Chinese resident or trading in the Monguor community, he had to pay to the Monguor T'u-ssu. With their strong Chinese devotion to their own clans and clan ancestors, such Chinese were unwilling to go so far as to accept the clan name of the T'u-ssu. They tended to continue to regard the Monguors as barbarians, and to resist the adoption of the Monguor costume and language. At the same time they pushed themselves forward in the administration of the villages in which they lived and the clans to which they had become attached, and in so doing their influence was naturally in the direction of the Chinese way of doing things and the Chinese way of thinking.

The infiltration of the Chinese trend of mind into the Monguor family system and social structure was promoted most by those Chinese who became elders and chiefs of villages and officials and secretaries living in the immediate surrounding of the T'u-ssu, drafting and executing his orders to his subjects and discussing administrative topics with him. All official documents were written in Chinese, and in all administrative discussions and meetings the Chinese language prevailed.

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ing neighboring tribes and making Chinese of them seems still to linger in Chinese minds, no matter what the official ideology may be. It will not be long before all the Monguor clans will have been "sinized," leading to their disappearance as a distinct people, and in the future very little will be available about the origins, institutions, traditions, and customs of the Monguors.

There remains an aspect of the life of the Monguors with which I have not here dealt, which is quite as interesting and peculiar as the social, family, and economic aspects; this is the religious life. Lamaism, shamanism, and practices and beliefs which seem not to belong to either of these two religions played a part of overwhelming importance both in the life of private families and in community life. In a later volume I shall deal with these aspects and their social impact on the Monguors.

APPENDIX

THE SHAT'O TURKS

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Although a Shat'o Turkish stock is an important component of the Monguor people, a survey of their history will help to clarify the differences, as well as the similarities, between Turks and Mongols.

About 540 the Juan-juan, identified by Pelliot with the Avars and considered by him to have been, in their language at least, early Mongols rather than Turks,[1] controlled the vast sweep of country from the western fringe of what is now Manchuria to Turfan, in Sinkiang, and from the Great Wall of China to the Orkhon River in Outer Mongolia and the southern tip of Lake Balkhash in Turkistan. The tribes of Turkish stock called by the Chinese T'uchüeh were then subject to the Juan-juan. "T'uchüeh" probably represents a plural form of the Juan-juan name for these people: Türküt. The habitat of these Turks centered on the Altai Mountains, and they were well known for their metal working. The Kaochü, who have been identified with the Tölös, were their strongest tribe.

The Juan-juan were weakened by a feud between their ruler, whose name has come down in the Chinese sources as Anakui, and his uncle P'olomen. After several revolts, beginning in 508, the T'uchüeh overthrew the Juan-juan in 552. The Juan-juan retreated to the frontier of North China, where they took service under one of the short-lived dynasties that preceded the founding of the great T'ang dynasty in 618.

The name of the successful T'uchüeh leader has come down in the Chinese transcription as T'umen, but its Turkish form appears to have been Bumin. His success was due to the support of another Chinese frontier dynasty, that of the Toba Wei, itself of barbarian and probably Turkish origin. He died almost as soon as the victory was won and this led to a partitioning of the new Turkish domains between his son, Muhan, who received what is now Mongolia, and his younger brother, Istämi (Shihtiehmi in Chinese transcription), who received the territory to the west and south of the Altai. This was the origin of the Eastern and Western Turkish Khaganates. In good nomad style, wars continued both within these khaganates and between them.

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[1] The following summary is based on René Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 124 *sqq.*, Paris, Payot, 1939. Grousset drew on the original researches of Pelliot, Chavannes, Thomsen, F. W. K. Müller, Marquart, Shiratori, and others.

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Among the Western Turks the most important tribes were the Tölös, who have been identified with Kaochü and have also been identified as the ancestors of the Uighurs; the Syr-Tardush, and the Karluks; less important were the Ch'umi tribes on the Manas River in Sinkiang, the Ch'uyueh tribes west of Lake Barköl, and the small Chuhsieh tribes who were called Shat'o because they lived in the desert (*shat'o,* "sandy slopes").[2]

There are a number of errors and confusions in the standard Chinese histories dealing with this period, the Old T'ang *History,* the New T'ang *History,* and the Old *History* of the Wu Tai or Five Dynasties (the period of disruption and war that followed the fall of the great T'ang dynasty in 906). I therefore translate here a short commentary by Ou-Yang Hsiu, devoted to the Shat'o, which is to be found in ch. 4, pp. 10 *sqq.* of the Ponapen edition of the *Wu Tai Shihchi,* a supplement to the *History* of the Five Dynasties, of which he was the principal compiler:

> Those who for generations have lost their history are numerous. Is that the fault only of the official historians? The ancestors of the Li family originated among the Western Turks. Their proper designation is Chuhsieh. Later generations changed this to Shat'o, but they used Chuhsieh as their surname and [recognized] Panyehku[3] as their ancestor. The authors in their own preface say that Shat'o is the desert of Peit'ing [Beshbalik; the region of Urumchi or Tihua in Sinkiang]. When T'ai Tsung [627-649] of the T'ang dynasty broke up the tribes of the Western Turks, he assigned the people of T'unglop'uku to that desert and established there the *fu* [administrative district] of Shat'o and made their ancestor Panyehku Tutu [governor]; and he passed this office to his offspring for many generations. They were all Tutu of Shat'o. For that reason later generations adopted this designation.
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> When I examine the history, all these sayings are wrong. The barbarians I and Ti [traditional Chinese classifications of "barbarians"] have no surnames [clan names]. The designation Chuhsieh is a tribal name. Panyehku was a man contemporaneous with the Chuhsieh and he was not the ancestor of the Shat'o. During the reign of T'ai Tsung there never existed a *fu* of Shat'o. When T'ang T'ai Tsung broke up the Western Turks and reorganized their tribes, he established thirteen *chou* [administrative districts] and appointed T'unglo to be Tutufu of Ch'iulin, P'uku to be Tutufu of Chinwei, Panyehku to be Tutufu of Yulu. There never existed a *fu* of Shat'o.

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[2] Such, at least, is the clear traditional Chinese explanation of the name. For the possibility that "Shat'o" represents the name "Sart," see Mr. Lattimore's Introduction.

[3] E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux,* Collected works of the Orkhon expedition, 352, St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, 1903, suggests that this is probably not the name of a man but that of a tribe, the Yer-Bayirkou.—O. L.

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At that time among the western tribes the Ashihna of the Yent'o tribe of the Tölös were the most important. Among the other tribes there were the tribes of T'unglo, P'uku, Panyehku and others; these, more than ten in number, were smaller than the tribe of Ashihna, and there were also the tribes of Ch'uyueh and Ch'umi which were still smaller. Chuhsieh was the name of another division of the Ch'uyueh tribe; in 648 it has submitted to Panyehku. In 649 Holu of the Ashihna revolted.[4] In 651 the Ch'uyueh and Chuhsieh tribes, having been left to one side looking on at the rebellion, followed Holu in revolt and fought on the Old Mountain and were defeated by the general Ch'ipiho. Thereafter they vanished and did not appear again. After 150 or 160 years, during the reign of the emperor Hsien Tsung [806–820] there were Chinchung and his son Chihi of the Chuhsieh tribe who presented themselves to China and called themselves by the [tribal] name Shat'o, having the surname of Chuhsieh. Shat'o is the name of a desert, south of the mountain Chinsha and east of the lake Barköl. Because the Chuhsieh of old lived in that desert they were called Shat'o Turks; but because the barbarians have no script for recording and because the Chuhsieh were a small tribe unworthy of record, later generations lost their history. When the grandson of Chinchung received the gift of the [T'ang dynasty imperial clan] surname Li and the family of Li later became famous, then the barbarians regarded the Shat'o as a noble race.

Such is Ou-Yang Hsiu's rectification of the record of the identity of the Shat'o, their origin, and their former habitation.

The next question is when and why the Shat'o came to China and submitted to the T'ang empire. The following is the account given in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, Ponapen edition, ch. 4, p. 1:

During the reign of the emperor Te Tsung [780–804] Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe lived in the *chou* Chinnan near Beshbalik. During the period Cheng Yuan [785–804: part of the reign of Te Tsung] the T'ufan [Tibetan] Tsanpu [possibly a Chinese transcription of Tibetan *gyalpo*, "king,"—O. L.] attacked and took Beshbalik [in 790]. He transferred Chinchung to Kanchou, using him to hold that city. Later Tsanpu was defeated by the Uighurs. Chinchung with his son Chihi went eastward. Tsanpu, angrily pursuing them, caught up with them at the Stone Gate Pass. Chinchung fought and died, and Chihi alone went on to submit to the T'ang, who quartered him at Yenchou [the modern Yenan] under the command of Fan Hsi-ch'ao, the Tiehtushih of Hohsi ["West of the River"; i.e. west of the north-south course of the Yellow River, where it separates the present provinces of Shensi and Shansi,—O. L.]

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[4] In Grousset, *op. cit.*, 150, this chieftain is called "a khan of the Tulu," and the passage dealing with him is referred to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, cited above, 32–38, translating passages from the Old T'ang *History*; but in fact the passages cited by Chavannes support the source here translated by Father Schram. In Grousset, the name of the general who defeated Holu is given as Su Ting-fang (adjusting the French transcription to the usual English transcription); but reference to Chavannes supports the "Ch'i-piho" (see below) of Father Schram's source. The discrepancies are explained by the fact that Grousset's text is a condensation. There was a khan called Tulu, but Holu was not "a khan of the Tulu"; there was, as in Father Schram's source, a general named Ch'ipiho (given by Chavannes, *op. cit.*, 34, as K'i-pi Ho-li), who was in the service of the Chinese, though he was a Turk; Chavannes gives K'i-pi (Father Schram's Ch'i-pi) as his tribal name; and there was, finally, a general named Su Ting-fang, as given by Grousset, but he appeared later in the story.—O. L.

[P. 132a]

It was Chihhsin, the son of this Chihi, who received from the T'ang emperor the grant of the surname of Li, with the personal name of K'o-chang. His son, in turn, was the famous Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin, whose son Li Ts'un-tsui founded the ephemeral dynasty of the Later T'ang (923–936).

In the New T'ang *History*, ch. 143, pp. 1*b* and 2*a* of the Ponapen edition, more details are given of the flight of Chinchung from Kanchou and the arrival of his son Chihi in Yenchou. This account first narrates how the Uighurs plundered the Kanchou region and made it insecure, and how the distressed Shat'o tried to evade them, and continues:

> During the period Cheng Yuan [785–804] the Shat'o tribe, of seven thousand tents, joined the T'ufan and with them marauded against Beshbalik and took the city. The T'ufan transferred the Shat'o to Kanchou, using Chinchung as their leading military advisor. When the T'ufan pillaged the frontier regions of China, they always used the Shat'o as vanguard troops. Some time previously the Uighurs had taken Liangchou, and the T'ufan, suspecting Chinchung of ambiguous behavior (for he had not helped to prevent the capture of the city), decided to transfer the Shat'o to the outer side of the river.[5] The whole Shat'o tribe was distressed and frightened. Chinchung of the Chuhsieh tribe, conferring with [his son] Chihi, said: We have, for generations been officials of the T'ang emperors, and unfortunately we have fallen into the present difficult situation [by dealing with the Tibetans instead of acting as frontier defenders of the T'ang empire in China]. If we went to the frontier gate of Suchou [Hsüchou] and submitted ourselves to the emperor there would be no danger of our race being exterminated. This, said Chinchung, is the right way. In 808 the whole group, consisting of thirty thousand people, set out, going by way of the Wutehchien [Utuken] mountains and then to the east. The T'ufan pursued them. They fought as they went, along the river T'ao. As they advanced toward the Stone Gate they fought without respite. The tribe was nearly exterminated. Chinchung died there. Chihi, gathering together the wounded soldiers, who numbered only two thousand, and seven hundred animals and a thousand camels, arrived at the frontier at Lingchou. When the Tiehtushih Fan Hsi-ch'ao heard the news of their arrival, he ordered that their tribe be settled in Yenchou.

A glance at the geography of Kansu is enough to reveal an ambiguity, if not a serious contradiction, in the accounts that have come down to us about this migration of the Shat'o.

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[5] Kanchou, at this time held by the Shat'o, stands to the northwest of Liangchou, and therefore should have served to shield Liangchou from the attacks of Uighurs coming from still farther to the northwest, in the present Sinkiang province. Kanchou stands, moreover, just to the east of several headwater streams of the Etsin Gol, which flows northward into Mongolia. The penalty proposed by the Tibetans, of moving the Shat'o to the "outside" of this water barrier, meant that they would thus be made more exposed to any raids by hostile Turkish kinsmen of theirs from Central Asia.—O. L.

According to the New T'ang *History*, Chinchung suggests to Chihi, "if we went . . . to Suchou." This would have meant going northwest from Kanchou. It would have brought the Sha'to to a point on the upper course of the Etsin Gol. At this point they could, as suggested in the account, have made themselves useful to the T'ang dynasty as guardians of a critical frontier point on the classical trade route leading to Turkistan; or, turning to the northeast along the Etsin Gol, they could have set out for the Utuken mountains[6] in Mongolia—and most historians have taken it for granted that this is what they did; or—and this conforms most nearly to the text—they could have started northeast toward the Utuken mountains and then, swinging to the east and again to the southeast (not mentioned in the text), have reached Lingchou, in the great Ninghsia oasis on the Yellow River.

Against this group of alternative possibilities there is the fact that by starting first in the direction of Suchou they would have directly challenged the Uighurs, by whom they were already menaced. Still more contradictory of a migration route through Suchou is the mention, in the same account, of the Sha'to fighting their way "along the river T'ao," which is exactly in the opposite direction from Kanchou, i.e., far to the southeast. The identity of the T'ao is unmistakable, in both medieval and modern times. It flows from the Tibetan plateau on the southern frontier of Kansu, flows past the important cities of Old and New T'aochou, and then turns north to flow into the Yellow River. Both historical accounts (New T'ang *History* and Ou-Yang Hsiu) also mention a Stone Gate; and there is a celebrated pass in the T'aochou region that still goes by that name. If the Shat'o migration went through T'aochou, the logical route would have been from Kanchou south into the Nanshan ranges, by what is still the main caravan route, which I myself have traveled many times, through Pientuku and over the Obo pass,[7] traversing the territory of the ancient Little Yüehchih where, as we shall see below, Shat'o were mentioned as living in 939, and southeast past Hsining to T'aochou. Then, following the course of the T'ao River back to the Yellow River, they would have reached Lingchou.

Although this route would have involved a detour to the south, its general course would have been east, since Lingchou is east and only a little to the south of Kanchou; and this southern detour would have been much less out of the way than the northern detour through Mongolia. In support of the view that the actual route of migration was that over the mountains to the T'ao River it can be argued that this route would have taken them away from the Uighurs, whom they were trying to evade, and that they would know the route well because of the recorded fact that they had served as vanguard troops of their Tibetan overlords in raiding Chinese territory. For thirteen years, from 792 to 805, as recorded in the Old T'ang *History*, ch. 146, pp. 11–12, they had pillaged most of the cities and important villages between T'aochou and the region of Lingchou, Ninghsia, and Yenchou, driving off cattle, stealing women and girls, and making themselves a scourge.

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[6] Paul Pelliot, Neuf notes sur des questions d'Asie centrale; III: Le mont Yu-t'ou-kin (Ütukän) des anciens Turcs, *T'oung Pao* **26**: 201, 1929. The name of these mountains in its present Mongol form is Otkhan Tengri, "Fire-lord Divinity."

[7] For stage-by-stage accounts of routes in this region, see Eric Teichman, *Travels of a consular officer in north-west China*, Cambridge, Univ. Press, 1921.—O. L.

The foregoing analysis was written before the publication of Eberhard's valuable study of the structure of "conquest dynasties" in China, which contains an important chapter on the Shat'o Turks.[8] Eberhard adheres to what may be called the orthodox acceptance of the Utuken migration of the Shat'o; but, as will be seen below, there are considerations that make it possible to reconcile to a certain extent the Utuken version and the T'aochou version of the Shat'o migration, as recorded in the chronicles.

The next mention of the presence of the Shat'o, not as migrants but as living in the very country in which their Monguor-amalgamated descendants now live, is also to be found in the *Wu Tai Shihchi*, ch. 74, pp. 10*b*, 11*a*. In 938, after the fall of the T'ang dynasty, the king of Khotan in Chinese Turkistan (the present Sinkiang) sent to the emperor of the Later Chin, an ephemeral dynasty of Shat'o Turkish origin in North China (as will be seen below), a delegation with "tribute," consisting of products of his country. The emperor in return sent a mission of three ambassadors of whom one, Kao Chin-hui, wrote an account of his journey. The mission left Lingchou in January, 939, and was back in China by the winter of 942. In the desert between Lingchou and Liangchou he passed a night at the tent of a chief of the Yüehchih tribe. The mention of this tribal name is in itself remarkable, as the Yüehchih, a powerful tribe in the time of the Earlier Han dynasty, 202 B.C.–A.D. 8, had after that time virtually vanished from the pages of Chinese history.

Arriving then at Kanchou, he wrote:

> The Uighurs occupy the country. A [few] hundred *li* distant in the Nanshan [south] of Kanchou is the old country occupied during the Han dynasty by the Little Yüehchih; here there live other tribes, called Shat'o of the Luchüehshan [mountains], and they are said to be descendants of the Chuhsieh tribe.

Kao Chin-hui's note in passing is extremely important, because it establishes the presence, in the tenth century, of Shat'o Turks in the very region where their Monguor descendants now live, maintaining the tradition that their ancestors came to this region in the T'ang dynasty and that their chiefs are descended from Li K'o-yung. The text is one that has frequently been noted. Rémusat translated it *in extenso.*[9] Stein emphasized its geographical and archaeological importance in relation to the ancient trade routes of Central Asia.[10] Chavannes also noted the importance of surviving remnants of the Little Yüehchih,[11] but his frame of reference did not call for comment on the Shat'o.

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[8] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers: social forces in medieval China*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1952.

[P. 133b]

For the purpose of a study of the historical origins of the Shat'o element among the Monguors, however, this text is of primary importance. It is indeed remarkable, in view of the attention that ~~has been~~ paid to other Shat'o groups, that so little note has been taken of the group here mentioned and geographically identified.

If there were Shat'o Turks in the region between Hsining and Kanchou in 939, how long had they been there and how are we to suppose that they got there?

We may take, as a point of departure, the fact that after the fall of the T'ang dynasty in 906 Northwest China was for a brief time under the control of two successive dynasties of Shat'o Turkish origin, the Later T'ang, 923–936, founded by the son of the Shat'o warrior Li K'o-yung, and the Later Chin, 936–946.[12] During this period contingents of Shat'o tribesmen might well have been sent to the Hsining country; it was known to be splendid pasture country, and the Shat'o knew of it from their own tribal history. There is moreover a lingering tradition among the Shat'o-Monguors that Shat'o tribesmen had been sent to this region by Li K'o-yung to take care of the breeding horses for the cavalry of the dynasty which, through his son, he was about to found. The tradition is reasonable in view of the fact that Chinese dynasties always set aside special pastures for the breeding of cavalry mounts—usually frontier pastures, because of the lack of pasture land where Chinese agriculture flourished.

After the opening of the tenth century, China, and especially North China, passed through a "time of troubles" that endured for three and a half centuries. It is true that from 960 to 1260 (in North China, or part of North China) or 1280 (in South China) the great Sung dynasty flourished; but even at the height of its power barbarians ravaged the Great Wall frontier, and most of the time the Sung were really a Yangtze and south of the Yangtze dynasty. It would not be impossible that the Hsining Shat'o horse-breeding nomads were able to maintain themselves all through this period of turmoil in their relatively out-of-the-way pastures.

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[9] A. Rémusat, Histoire de la ville de Khotan, Paris, 1820.

[10] M. Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* 1: 178, London, Oxford Univ. Press, 1907; the same, *Serindia* 3: 1129, n. 15, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1921, with references to E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-Kiue,* and to Ritter, *Asien* 2: 212, 1822–1859, who in turn cites Antoine Gaubil, Suite de l'abrégé de l'histoire chinoise de la grande dynastie T'ang, *Mémoires concernant l'histoire des chinois, par les missionaires de Pékin* 16: 156, Paris, 1779–1814.

[11] E. Chavannes, Les pays d'occident d'après le Wei-lio, *T'oung Pao* 6: 519, 1905.

[12] Eberhard, *op. cit.,* 90–91, stresses a point that is important for the understanding of such short-lived dynasties founded by military adventurers: Li K'o-yung commanded not more than 10,000 soldiers, from which Eberhard reasons that "the whole Shat'o population could not have been much more than 100,000 men." This minority, he continues, "reigned over 19,000,000 Chinese families or 53,000,000 people; the Shat'o were not even two per cent of the population!"

A second possible hypothesis would be that the Hsining Shat'o mentioned in 939 had not in fact been stationed there by Li K'o-yung at or just before the founding of the Later T'ang dynasty, but were remnants who had only recently fled there after the fall of that dynasty. If this view should be correct, it would mean that the "Li K'o-yung" tradition of the Monguor-Shat'o is a later invention—of a kind with many parallels in the histories of migrating peoples. On the other hand a strong argument against this hypothesis is that if the Shat'o had only recently come to the Hsining region where Kao Chin-hui found them in 939 he would have been likely, representing as he did another Shat'o dynasty, that of the Later Chin, to mention the fact.

Still a third hypothesis may be suggested. It lacks the support of any continuing legend or tradition among the Monguor-Shat'o themselves, but it is wholly in the line of the history of nomads. The Shat'o were a loose federation of tribes. At the time that they fled from Kanchou in 808, some of them may have given up and surrendered to the pursuing T'ufan Tsanpu, who allowed them to settle in the Hsining region, while the main body broke through to the T'ao River and from there made their way to Lingchou on the Yellow River. On the whole this hypothesis is the most reasonable one, because it would also allow for the corollary possibility that some of the Shat'o also broke away in the opposite direction, reaching first the Utuken Mountains and eventually Lingchou. This supposition would allow us to reconcile the conflicting mention of an Utuken line of migration and a T'ao River line of migration for the flight of the Shat'o from Kanchou.

We have next to account for the relationship between the Shat'o and the Mongols who conquered China in the thirteenth century. We have no explicit records mentioning the Shat'o between 939 and the expulsion of the Mongols from China and the founding of the Ming dynasty in 1368. We do have, however, in the *Annals* of Kansu, ch. 42, p. 46, the explicit statement concerning the first outstanding Shat'o group that

> Li Nan-ko, a Hsifan [a term for barbarians on the border of Tibet], descendant of Li K'o-yung, prince of Chin of the T'ang dynasty, holding the office of T'ungchih in the *chou* of Hsining [under the Yuan], submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period [1368–1398] and was granted the hereditary office of Chihhui chienshih.

Concerning the second major Shat'o group it is recorded in the same source (ch. 42, p. 38) that

> Li wen, [nephew of Li Nan-ko], held the office of Tutu chihhui t'ungchih under the Yuan dynasty. He submitted at the beginning of the Hung Wu period and was granted [the continuation of] his former office.

[P. 134 b]

175 From these notices the inference is clear that the Shat'o chiefs had been held in high esteem by the Yuan or Mongol dynasty and had been granted important frontier offices. There are moreover clear reasons for a benevolent attitude toward the Shat'o on the part of the Mongol rulers.

Although there is such a long gap in the record of the Hsining Shat'o, we have records of two other Shat'o groups. After the fall of the two Shat'o military dynasties in the tenth century, the Later T'ang and the Later Chin, one group of Shat'o remained in the north of the present Suiyuan province, in the Yinshan range on the edge of Inner Mongolia. Another settled in the south of Kansu province, on the T'ao River. At the beginning of the twelfth century these Shat'o were transferred to Manchuria by the Chin dynasty, barbarians from Manchuria who conquered North China, and later were allowed to join the Yinshan Shat'o. This whole Shat'o group later became known as Onguts, a tribal name from *ong*, Mongol corruption of the Chinese *wang*, "prince."

Pelliot established that both the T'ao River Shat'o-Onguts and those of the Yinshan were Nestorian Christians.[13] Lattimore discovered a ruined city in Inner Mongolia, just north of the Yin-shan, with archaeological evidence of Nestorian occupation.[14] Martin, exploring this site, also found other Ongut cemeteries,[15] and commenting on these Ch'en Yuan noted that one of the tomb tablets established for the first time that a member of the famous noble clan of Yehlü, of the Khitans, had been the administrator of these Nestorians.[16] Still more cemeteries in the same region were then discovered by Henning Haslung-Christensen, the Danish explorer, and Grønbech, a member of his expedition, showed that the inscriptions on the tombstones were in the Turkish language of the Onguts, written in Syriac script.[17] In this connection it is worth noting that there is no trace of Nestorianism among the Shat'o-Monguors of the Hsining region. The cemeteries of the ancestors of the T'u-ssu are on the Chinese pattern, and the tombstone inscriptions are in Chinese only. It is true that there are records of Nestorians in Hsining;[18] but the Shat'o of this region were fervent Buddhists. It was they who built the Ta Fo Ssu (Great Buddha Temple) in the city of Hsining, the only building of a temple or monastery in Hsining recorded during the period of Mongol rule.

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[13] Paul Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'extrême orient, *T'oung Pao* 15: 623–644, 1914.

[14] Owen Lattimore, A ruined Nestorian city in Inner Mongolia, *Geographical Jour.* **85**: 481–497, London, 1934.

[15] H. Desmond Martin, Preliminary report on Nestorian remains north of Kueihua, Suiyuan, *Monumenta Serica* **3**: 232–249, Peiping, 1938.

[16] Ch'en Yuan, On the damaged tablets discovered by Mr. H. D. Martin in Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* **3**: 250–296, 1938.

[17] K. Grønbech, Turkish inscriptions of Inner Mongolia, *Monumenta Serica* **4**: 305 *sqq.*, 1939.

[18] H. Cordier, Le christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale sous les Mongols, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 59, 1917.

[P.135a]

The history of the Hsining Shat'o and those of Inner Mongolia can be joined up in the following manner. In 1201, when the ruler of the Naimans, in the present Outer Mongolia, was organizing a coalition against Chingis Khan, the chief of the Onguts of the Yinshan, Alakush Tegin, although a vassal of the Chin dynasty, warned Chingis of the coalition and offered to march with him against the Naimans. In gratitude, Chingis Khan sent him a present of 500 horses and 1,000 sheep. The Naimans were defeated in 1204, and in 1206 Chingis made Alakush a prince of the new empire he was founding and also gave his daughter, Alaghi Beki, in marriage to Poyaoho, son of Alakush. In 1219, when Chingis invaded Khorezm, he was accompanied by Poyaoho.[19] From then on for at least three generations princesses of the Mongol imperial line were given in marriage to the descendants of Alakush. A grandson of Alakush, the Prince George, was converted from the Nestorian heresy by John of Montecorvino.[20]

We are thus entitled to assume that when Subudei, one of Chingis' greatest commanders, invaded Hsining in the course of the campaign in which he took Lanchou in 1226,[21] he was delighted to find there kinsmen of the Shat'o-Onguts who were already allies and vassals of the Mongols, and that it was easy to take over the Hsining Shat'o as favored vassals of the Mongol dynasty on the Tibetan frontier.

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE OF LAMA BUDDHISM

Since completing the writing of this volume and while preparing the material for the subsequent volume on the place of religion in Monguor life I have realized that certain aspects of the history of the establishment and diffusion of Buddhism in the Monguor region should have been mentioned in this volume, as they explain why rapid economic development and growth of population in this region began only after the suppression of the revolt of Lobsang Dantsin and the Lamas in 1723.

Until 1723 this region, called Huang Chung, had been unsuccessfully colonized several times by Chinese settlers as an adjunct to Chinese garrisons. These attempts had failed because of tribal wars and frontier inroads. The population had remained thin, and its components had frequently changed and moved. The Ming dynasty, beginning in 1368, had settled Chinese colonies and posted Chinese garrisons in only a few localities, controlling the rest of the region by accepting the allegiance of the Monguors under their various T'u-ssu.

In order to promote the adherence of non-Chinese tribes and the allocation of them to permanent territories, the Ming authorities granted special favors to Lamas who encouraged the tribes to submit to China. Most of these Lamas at that time belonged to the Red sects and were married, and could be granted hereditary titles and domains. They were also encouraged to found monasteries which had special functions in administering the tribes and collecting the tribute that symbolized Chinese rule. In my subsequent volume the names of the Lamas and tribes will be established from the Chinese sources.

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[19] Summarized from H. Desmond Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan and his conquest of north China*, 85, 101, 133, 237. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1950.

[20] Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale, as cited, especially p. 631.

[21] Martin, *The rise of Chingis Khan*, as cited, 290–291.

Under this Imperial patronage Lamaism flourished luxuriantly under the Ming dynasty and continued to expand under the Ch'ing or Manchu dynasty. The monastery of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, established forty-two subordinate institutions during the ensuing 119 years, and the monasteries of Sha-ch'ung and Kumbum followed the same pattern. North of the Hsining River the number of Lamas was very large in proportion to the thin frontier population. By 1723 Erh-ku-lung was inhabited by 2,500 Lamas. Of its satellite monasteries, Seerkōk had 2,000; Chiebsang 800; Ch'i-chia-ssu 700; T'ien-t'ang-ssu 700, and Shih-men-ssu 700, while smaller satellites had from 10 to over 100. South of the Hsining River the monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, founded under imperial patronage at the very beginning of the Ming period, had more than 950 Lamas in the main monastery and its satellites. The figures for Kumbum are not recorded for that period, but must have been of much the same order, because 300 Kumbum Lamas were beheaded in 1723.

The absorption of a high proportion of the male population by these monasteries had a serious effect on the productivity of the region which should be taken into account in addition to the losses caused by frontier insecurity. Men who became Lamas were not only withdrawn from production but had to be fed by the depleted population. We may look also to this loss of manpower as an explanation of the eagerness of the T'u-ssu to enroll in their clans Tibetans and Chinese to till their domains, found new families, and above all pay the land taxes.

At the same time the influence and power of the lamaseries competed destructively with the authority and

175 wealth of the T'u-ssu, whose subjects frequently moved in large numbers to become "disciples" tilling the land
772 of lamaseries which offered them more favorable terms of tenantry. Such considerations helped to explain why in 1723 the T'u-ssu so willingly helped the Chinese military expedition which crushed the revolt of the Lamas. Even before this, in 1591, T'u-ssu forces had taken part in the burning of the famous temple built in Kukunor by Altan Khan in 1576 at the time of his meeting with the Dalai Lama.

Nor is it surprising to learn from the Chinese sources that the Chinese officials exulted over the crushing of the revolt and the promulgation of new imperial regulations curtailing the excessive power and influence of the Lamas. Hints can be found that the local Chinese officials held a grudge against the "barbarian" Living Buddhas whom they despised but whom it had been the policy of Peking to honor and favor, and against the lamaseries which had become possessors of large domains whose tenants were exempt from compulsory services and whose rents were exempt from taxation. There is no doubt that a dangerous situation had developed in the ranks of the impoverished T'u-ssu and the discontented Chinese officials.

Economically, the wealth that flowed into the granaries and treasuries of the monasteries was removed from circulation and did not provide surpluses for trade; it was either consumed, or hoarded, or used to found new Lama communities, and was not even used for charitable grants to the lay population. At the same time, the rest of the community suffered from lack of labor to expand agriculture and production. The economy inevitably shrank until it produced scarcely enough for its own consumption; there was no surplus left to stimulate trade and the growth of cities.

Thus the sociological and economic history of Lamaism in the Monguor region can be summarized by saying that under political patronage its growth was artificially stimulated, with the result that it expanded so fast that it disrupted both the economic system and the social structure of the country, making improvement and progress impossible.

[P. 136 b]

[254 cont.]

792 a closed building, but rather as a whole settlement with temples,
[346] halls, dwelling yards, chortens, chapels, little mani-houses,
and obos. To the Tujen there dGon-luñ is simply the monastery.
[103] The official full name, however, is dGón-luñ byams-pa gliñ,
just as the full name of Kumbum is sKu 'bum byams pa gliñ. According to B. Laufer, byams pa gliñ means "temple of the
Maitreya"; see Filchner, Kumbum, p. V. Not [255] every
monastery has such a temple, and for this reason people always
like to mention it along with the monastery. The main temple
792 of dGon-luñ contains such a gigantic image of the Maitreya
778 painted on silk, over ten meters long and several meters wide.
796 It is rolled up from the temple roof and allowed to hang down
over the front into the yard usually twice a year, namely, in
the first month after the tscham dances and on the sixth day of
the sixth month. The ceremony is called dšamba sguni dielgē,
that is, to hang out the Maitreya image; dšamba or šamba is the
Tujen pronunciation of byams-pa. The Chinese call the rite
simply shai Fuo-yeh, that is, to sun the Buddha. For the be-
[788] lieving populace it is the high point of the feast days; the
people make pilgrimages to the place in great crowds in order
to venerate the image with kowtows.

792 There is no Tujen name for the monastery; their desig-
nation Rgulõñ (Rẽgulõñ) is only a corruption of dGon-luñ. Even
103 the Chinese Êrh-ku-lung is nothing more than a derivation from
the Tibetan. Some people would like the êrh to be understood
as the Chinese "two," since it is supposedly the second monastery,
which was built anew after the destruction of the first; in fact,
one also often hears the name Ku-lung without this êrh. The
designation Yu-ning-szu, monastery for the protection of Sining,
has not prevailed among the people. It is used almost exclusively
in books and official documents.

792 The monastery corresponds to the Buddhistic require-
ments in exemplary fashion, for it lies at the exit of a lonely
[361] forested valley and has been built up in part along its northern
[346] ridge, which bears the name Tuguān-ula, Tuguān mountain
[103] (Chin. T'u-kuan shan). A gigantic obo crowns its peak. Neither
oral nor written information concerning the founding of the
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[255 cont.]

792 monastery could be obtained on account of the brevity of the visit. The Sining chronicle reports nothing about it. 175 Originally it seems to have been a Tibetan establishment. Until its destruction dGon-luṅ possessed great importance in Ambo. Then it was overshadowed by other monasteries. The patriotic monks in the first year of Emperor Yung-cheng had put themselves on the side of the Mongolic Koko Nor prince (ch'en-wang) bLo-bzan bsTan-'dsin. The consequence of this was that dGon-luṅ was destroyed by a Chinese punitive expedition in the year 1723 along with several other monasteries, among which was also sGo-maṅ-dgon (gSer-k'og-dgon-pa). Upon the request of the Tuguān Hutukhtu, who at that time resided in Peking, the emperor permitted the monastery to be rebuilt in 1733, as well as sGo-maṅ-dgon; cf. Hsü Kung-wu, pp. 113, 115; Schulemann, p. 179; Sining-Chronicle. After this reconstruction dGon-luṅ received the official name Yu-ning-szu and a memorial stone on which these events were noted. The text of this stone is reprinted in the Sining chronicle. One cannot see the stone itself. The lamas have immured it in order to be rid of the honorable but unpleasant memory. About 60 years ago the new monastery had to endure the Dunganen rebellion, which claimed the lives of many Tujen. It never again reached its old dimensions, of which an isolated remnant still remains, namely, the temple with the gurtum-deity dPekar and the spirit-spear of the monastery soothsayer.

792 [65] [256] Today the monastery is under the county government of Huchu. Formerly it was independent with its lands, forests, and pastures and controlled many taxable Tujen villages. It numbers about 300 monks and several Tulkus, who are almost all Tujen. As affiliates under the supreme Tulku, the Tuguān Hutukhtu, its administrator mentioned to me also the following lamaseries: Man-t'ou-szu, a few kilometers northwest; Chin(g)-kang-ta-szu, 20 kilometers to the north; Chang-chia-szu, 65 kilometers southeast near Lotu; Hua-yüan-szu, 12 kilometers to the south, a Bon monastery; Hung-ku-szu, in the Lianchow region (Kansu); Ma-t'i(eh)-szu, in the Kanchow region (Kansu). These connections indicate how far the significance of the monastery must have extended. From the beginning it has been

PREFACE

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The origin, history, and social organization of the Monguors were studied in Part I,[1] together with the family and economic life. Their religious life is here dealt with as Part II of the same study.

It is common knowledge that the private and public religious life of the Monguors is intensive, and that the Monguors are as fervently Lamaist as shamanist, and also practise rites belonging to neither of these religions.

In dealing with the Lamaism of the Monguors, the purpose is not to study the origin, the history, and the philosophy of Lamaism in general in Tibet and Mongolia; instead, in the first part of the study, emphasis is put on the historical frame within which Lamaism was diffused in the limited region of Huang-chung.

The study is based on local chronicles, the Chinese histories, and all available sources, and also on the experience of a long stay among the people. The author hopes that he has thus attained insight into the history of the introduction, growth, flourishing, and crises of Lamaism, depending on peculiar circumstances of persons, events, and times.

The part played by the Chinese emperors in the diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung will be noted, the reasons of the imperial policy explained, and the peculiar legal institutions that were established to promote Lamaism will be recorded.

Local history will provide the data regarding the times, the places, and the peculiar circumstances in which monasteries were founded, and will point to the outstanding position occupied by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung, situated in the heart of the Monguor country north of the Hsining River. Erh-ku-lung surpassed all the lamaseries of the country for a century. Animated with prodigious activity it founded forty-two daughter lamaseries, enrolling a tremendous number of the Monguor male population in its institutions.

The local history will reveal also that some of the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung were learned authors of books, and directors of the imperial committee for the translation of the Kanjur and Tanjur from Tibetan into Mongol and that important diplomatic missions in Tibet were entrusted to them by the emperors who appointed them as spiritual directors of the Mongol princes, and from whom they received honorary offices at the capital.

Their influence reached as far as Peking, Mongolia, and Tibet. The colleges of Erh-ku-lung were attended by lamas from Kansu, Mongolia, and Tibet who, upon returning to their own countries, founded monasteries on the pattern of Erh-ku-lung.

These historical facts will explain the influence exerted by the Monguor lamas upon Lamaism, and upon

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[1] Louis M. J. Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part 1, Their origin, history, and social organization, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **44** (1), 1954.

[P. 1(A)]

771 the population of Huang-chung. Note must be taken
175 of these historical facts in order to explain the actual
121 religious mentality of the people of Huang-chung.

In the same way historical events will explain the tremendous crises which affected Lamaism in Huang-chung, and the actual position it occupies in the Hsining country.

A chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung, their material, educational, and religious aspects; their means of subsistence; the subjects of the lamaseries, branch monasteries, lamas, and living Buddhas. In this chapter, details of the numerical strength of lamas, in proportion to the population as a whole, are given. These figures throw light on a subject which has been somewhat distorted by past estimates. They show that the proportion of lamas to the total population is much lower than we have been led to expect. These figures are probably more reliable than those of past estimates; certainly they are more circumstantial.

[795] The inferior position of the Lamaism of the Red Sect in the region will also be better understood when put in its historical frame.

Similarly, the shamanism of the Monguors is approached from the angles of its peculiar connections with Taoism, the conservation of its ritual proper, and its historical connections with the "wuism" of old China and the shamanism of Central Asia. Emphasis is put also on its overwhelming importance in the religious life of the Monguors.

The second part of the study is devoted to the practical aspects of the religious life of the Monguors, its environment of fear and apprehension, and the role occupied in the fabric of daily life respectively by Lamaism and shamanism, and the various rites alien to both religions.

[114] The describing of monasteries, Lamaist monuments, iconography, programs of studies in colleges, theatrical exhibitions by lamas, festivities, and shamanist rites, has been avoided in this part, since all are encountered hundreds of times in books dealing with the subject. Instead, emphasis is put on the specific Monguor aspects of the religious life and rites that are peculiar to them, in order to understand the religious mentality of the representatives of the religions.

A chapter will deal with the death and burial customs, and still another with the cult of "Heaven and all the spirits."

The last chapter of the study will put stress on the often overlooked but important role played by religion in helping the Monguors to keep their identity, traditions and customs, strengthening the social structure of the clans, and preventing their absorption in the Chinese nation. [p. 1(B)]

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shamans, but by the family, village, or clan chief. Owing 754
to the enrollment of Chinese into the Monguor 788
clans, it is not unusual to encounter Taoist priests performing
rites in some villages, or to hear some wealthy [795
Sinicized Monguors, chiefs of clans, or an occasional 793]
scholar proficient in Chinese literature, openly claiming
to profess Confucianism. We do not consider them
Confucianists since they also practice Lamaist and shamanist
rites, and because Confucianism is not a religion.

POSITION OF LAMAISM

What is the respective standing of Lamaism and shamanism? 779
Lamaism occupies the privileged position, 792
and has been an overwhelming influence in the country of the Monguors. In nearly every valley, throughout the country, there is a monastery. As many as three hundred lamas live in some of the monasteries; in others thirty, fifty, or one hundred, and in Kumbum two thousand. The monasteries are the only imposing buildings in the country. They are the bankers, money lenders, owners of flour mills, and big sellers of grain and cattle. They command prestige among the Chinese officials because of the protection bestowed upon them by the Central Government of Peking. The moral influence they exert upon the people is unusual.

Nearly every Monguor family has one of its members, 602
a son or an uncle, enrolled in the lamaseries. 792
Thus, ties of kinship bind the people to the religious 614
institution. The chiefs of the clans are the real supporters 175
of Lamaism, though some of them claim to be Confucianists. The Lu T'u-ssu built three lamaseries in his territory and granted large property rights to them; the Ch'i T'u-ssu granted territories to the lamaseries of Erh-ku-lung and Ta-yin-ssu. The Li T'u-ssu built the once outstanding lamasery of Ta-fo-ssu in the center of the city of Hsining. The protector-deity of each clan is a deity of Lamaism. In the mansion of some T'u-ssu one or two lamas are on duty throughout
the year, worshipping the protector-deity of the clan. [796]
The T'u-ssu are the benefactors of the lamaseries at the time of the religious festivals. It is no wonder the people follow the example set by their chief and adopt his religion. The large-scale spread of Lamaism throughout Mongolia can be attributed to the example set by the chiefs of clans—such outstanding leaders as the Chang-chia, Sum-pa, Mei-chu-erh, and T'u-kuan Hutukhtus, and many less celebrated Living Buddhas, reincarnated in the Monguor country, which seems to be the "Land of the Lamas."

FAILURE OF LAMAISM TO SUPERSEDE SHAMANISM COMPLETELY

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Notwithstanding the conditions favoring Lamaism, 771
the Monguors are fervent adherents of shamanism, and occasionally of Taoism. The explanation of this anomaly is to be found in the fact that Monguors do not

[p. 6(B)]

Confidence in the power of the shaman is so strong 771
among the Monguors and over the whole country, that 756
even Sinicized Mongours and neighboring Chinese from outside the clans never fail to invite the shaman to their homes, even though they have long since abandoned the lamas. Before Buddhism and Lamaism were diffused in central Asia and Tibet, these countries were entirely shamanist. There is much evidence today to show that shamanism still occupies a prominent place in the religious life of these peoples. Mme David-Neel assumes that in spite of the fact that the Tibetans are considered to be Lamaists, most of them, except the learned lamas, are shamanists.[4]

II. INTRODUCTION OF BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN HSINING (HUANG-CHUNG)

NO HISTORICAL DATA BEFORE 1227 IN THE ANNALS OF HSINING

OLD OCCUPANTS OF HUANG-CHUNG WERE NOT BUDDHISTS

The *Annals* of Hsining do not record a single fact 175
concerning either the time or the way Buddhism first 771
was introduced in what is now the Hsining region. 792
Dealing with the temples and monasteries built in the country, the author of the *Annals*, in concluding ch. 15, p. 13*a* incidentally notes: ". . . the country of Huang-chung [Hsining], being properly the region of the Hsiao Yüeh-chih [Indo European Scythians], which had been lost several times at the hands of the Tibetans and the barbarians, it is no wonder that [there] Buddhists are numerous and Taoists are few in number." The author seems to suppose that these Scythians and Tibetans were Buddhist at that early time, but in ch. 30, pp. 1–12 (the only pages concerned with these early Scythians and Tibetans), he does not record any fact concerning Buddhism in regard to either these Scythians or these Tibetans.

No evidence can be offered concerning these Scy- 175
thians to support the assertion of the profession of Bud- 771
dhism by that "small branch of Hsining Hsiao Yüeh-chih."[1] However, the main branch of the Yüeh-chih

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[4] Alexandra David-Neel, *Au Pays des brigands gentilshommes* 101, Paris, Plon, 1933.

[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30. According to the *Annals*, the Hsiung-nu Khan, Mao Tun, having killed the king of the Scythians (202–201 B.C.), a small and feeble branch among them settled in the mountains and mixed with the Tibetans (p. 1*b*). They submitted to the Chinese General Ho Ch'ü-ping (121–119 B.C.) and lived among the Chinese (colonists). They lived in seven groups, numbering in all 9000 or more soldiers, spread over the region of Huang-chung to Ling-chü (colony near Kukunor) (p. 2*a*). During the period Hung-Yüan (A.D. 89–105), refusing to revolt with the Tibetan Mi-T'ang tribes, they helped the Chinese General Tung Hsün crush the revolt. Tung-Hsün gave them the title of *I-Ts'ung-Ch'iang*, and *I-Ts'ung-Hu* (loyally following Tibetans and barbarians, re-

tribes, chased from Mongolia and Turkistan by the 175
Hsiung-nu between 176 and 165 B.C., finally became 771
unified, and founded the realm of Kushana (between Iran and India), in the first half of our era.[2] When that branch adopted Buddhism is not known, but its third king, Kanishka (A.D. 80–11–, or A.D. 120–162), was a fervent protector of Buddhism.

The Tibetans of Huang-chung, in those early times, [177]
were still buried in barbaric darkness. It was much later, around A.D. 630–650, that Buddhism was first spread among them, and even then it had little appeal for the people on account of the strong opposition of the native *Bön* religion. The second attempt at diffusion by Padmasambhava a century later (775–788 or 797), was more successful.[3] Conclusively, Buddhism had not been spread during this period among these Scythians or the Tibetans.

FIRST TEMPLE BUILT IN HUANG-CHUNG

Buddhism "seems," however, to have been spread 175
into the country in the first centuries of our era, because 792
the author of the *Annals* (ch. 15, p. 2*b*) mentions the "monastery" Pei Ch'an-ssu, and notes: ". . . the 'monastery' is situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city of Hsining, at the foot of the 'Earth Tower Mountain' "; it is the very oldest monastery of which Han-yin tells: ". . . north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the monastery of the 'Earth Tower.' "

According to the Chinese "Dictionary of Famous Men of China," (*Chung-kuo ming-jen ts'e tien*) Han-yin was a native of Tun-Huang (Nan hsi-chou) who fulfilled important functions on behalf of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün (A.D. 401–439), the king of the ephemeral realm of Pei Liang. Han-yin was the author of several books, among them *The Annals of the Thirteen Chou*. In these *Annals* (p. 8), we read:

> the *Shui-ching-chu* records: north of the T'ing of Hsi-p'ing is the 'Earth Tower' temple, (*shen-ssu*); according to the *Shui-ching-chu* the river Huang, turning to the east, passes on the southern side of the 'Earth Tower'; the tower on the northern side leans against the mountain, the original crest being 300 feet high, and looks steep, as if it were artificially cut; at the foot of the tower are the remainders of old walls and of carved walls of the temple (or temples).

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spectively), which titles are recorded on pp. 6*a*–11*b*. Every time they took sides with the Chinese in quelling the intermittent revolts of Tibetans. In A.D. 184 (p. 11*b*) during the revolt of the Yellow Turbans, which accelerated the fall of the later Han dynasty (A.D. 220), the Scythians revolted with the Tibetan Hsien-lin tribes, and from that time on, their name disappears from the *Annals*; nothing more seems to be known about them.

Ed. Chavannes, Les Pays d'occident d'après Le Wei Lio, *T'oung Pao*, 6: 527–528, 1905.

[2] René Grousset, *Histoire de l'extrème Orient*, 60, 61, 64, Paris, Geuthner, 1929.

[3] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 361. Bacot, Jacques, Le Mariage chinois du roi Tibetain Sron-bcan-sgan-po, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, 7, Juillet, Louvain, Istas, 1935.

"The Tibetan chronicles show that in the IXth century, Buddhism had only passed the frontiers of Tibet without having either affected the mind of the people or even the court."

[p. 8(B)]

According to this text, Han-yin does not report having seen the temple between 401 and 439. He notes only the text of the *Shui-ching-chu*, an earlier geographical work, probably completed before A.D. 265, by an unknown author and largely commented and expanded by Li Tao-Yüan on the basis of his own studies and observations. He died in 527.[4] Han-yin consequently used the original edition of the *Shui-ching-chu* and thus the fact of the existence of the vestiges of the ruined temple (or temples) of the "Earth Tower" before A.D. 265 is evidenced. The *Shui-ching-chu* of Li Tao-Yüan notes *verbatim* the same text (p. 24*b*), adding: ". . . when Han-yin says, 'on the northern side of Hsi-p'ing is the temple of the "Earth Tower," ' he refers to this temple."

NOT A BUDDHIST TEMPLE

The original *Shui-ching-chu* in mentioning, "the temple of the 'Earth Tower' uses the term *Shen-ssu* for "temple." This term is not specific for temples devoted to the worship of Buddha, but rather is used to designate temples devoted to sacrifices to ancestors or to the spirits in general. The text notes that the vestiges of the "temple" were still existing in 265.

The author of the *Annals* printed in 1755 notes the existence of the *Pei Ch'an-ssu*, "the northern temple of contemplation," also called *Yung-hsing-ssu*, "temple of eternal inspiration," situated five *li* outside the northern gate of the city at the foot of the "Earth Tower Mountain." The name of "Earth Tower Mountain," situated five *li* north of the city, was still well known in 1912; the temple was still called *Pei Ch'an-ssu*, which eliminates any doubt concerning the identity of the location of the temple called by these three names.[5] In 1912 a steep winding path led to the temple, which was a deep cavern, and some smaller ones, dug half way up the mountain side. A large, elaborate veranda constituted the entrance. Inside the cavern were statues of Lu tung-ping, Ho-hu-yeh, Ma-wang, and Niu-wang. It is certain that the temple was a Taoist temple. An old Taoist, living in one of its small rooms, took care of it, collecting some grain in autumn from the neighboring farmers and enjoying his job.

IT IS ACTUALLY CALLED PEI CH'AN-SSU

Ch'an-ssu suggests that the builders of the temple belonged to the Dhyana sect, diffused in China by Buddhidharma, an Indian or Iranian Buddhist missionary, who arrived only in A.D. 520 (?) and died in 535.[6] The

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[4] A. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing period* 2: 970 sq., note by Dr. Hu Shih and *passim* the references concerning the *Shui-ching-chu* in Vols. 1–11 (see "Index of Books," in Hummel, *op. cit.*).

[5] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 39, p. 16*a*, erroneously notes: "130 *li* west of the city of Hsi-p'ing is the mountain of the Earth-tower, at its base is the temple (*Shen-ssu*) of the Earth-tower."

[6] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches* 2: 299–300, Leipzig, Verlag Von Walter De Gruyter, 1936.

temple must indeed have been devoted to the worship 175
of Buddha at some time; otherwise the name *Pei Ch'an-* 792
ssu would remain inexplicable. These facts seem to lead to the supposition that the original temple, already ruined in A.D. 265, must have been built by the early Chinese frontier colonists; and because it was not then called by the term *ssu*, the specific appellation for Buddhist temples, but *shen-ssu*, it must have been devoted to the worship of the spirits (of the locality), in the old Chinese manner. Later, after A.D. 520, the ruined original temple must have been converted into a Buddhist temple of the Dhyana sect. From that time on the people must have started calling it *Pei Ch'an-ssu*. Later still the temple, after having been changed to the cult of Taoist spirits, seems to have retained the Buddhist appellation, and the author of the *Annals* seems to have supposed erroneously that the temple was originally a Buddhist temple.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY COLONISTS OR BY MONKS FROM TURKISTAN?

Buddhism was introduced in China "officially" be- 175
tween A.D. 64 and 67 by way of Turkistan,[7] before 771
the time of King Kanishka of Kushana (80–110 or 120– 777
162), whose realm was situated on the celebrated commercial road connecting the Roman Empire with India and China.[8] Buddhism had been diffused into the petty realms of central Asia, with which the Chinese generals waged war for two centuries (121 B.C.–A.D. 101).[9] The first translators of Buddhist scriptures, mostly of Iranian and Scythian origin, came to China from Turkistan in A.D. 148.[10] All these missionaries, on their way to China, passed through Liang-chou which at that time was one of the most important emporiums in west China. Here lived businessmen from remote countries, subjects of the Roman Empire.[11]

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[7] Franke, *op. cit.* 1: 410, " . . . nothing is known for sure about the way or the time Buddhism was first diffused in China." However, Franke wrote earlier, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12: 217, 1909, " . . . Buddhism was firmly established in China in the second half of the first century A.D.; it made big strides during the middle of the second century, and rode the crest of the waves during the second half of the fourth century." Grousset, *op. cit.*, 244: "In 65 A.D. there existed sporadically in Kiangsu Buddhist communities, protected by the brother of Emperor Ming-ti. The diffusion of Buddhism seems only to have started on some large scale during the middle of the second century, A.D. . . ."

[8] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 55: " . . . the transcontinental silk trade road, running through Kashgaria (Turkistan) and Iran, was already open in the second century, B.C."

[9] O. Franke, Ausbreitung der Buddhismus von India nach Turkestan und China, " . . . during the three first centuries of our era, Buddhism must have been diffused from Gandhara and Kashmir into Turkistan."

[10] Grousset, *op. cit.*, 245.

[11] Peter Boodberg, Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* 1: 289, Cambridge, [113]
November, 1936, "Besides the two 'Aryan' colonies in Shensi, there are reasons to believe that there existed on the Chinese

[p 9(B)]

The colonization of Huang-chung started between 175 ● 121 and 119 B.C. with the transportation of Chinese families from central China, and criminals released from jail (*Annals* of Hsining. ch. 30, p. 2*b*). In A.D. 9 the colonization system was developed on a larger scale in the same way. In A.D. 132 (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9) after five new colonies were established, the total number reached only ten. Intermittently, new families and criminals had to be sent to replace those who died or ran away (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 9*b*). In A.D. 220, after [653] three centuries, the originally walled, small garrison of Hsining was expanded by the building of three new cities, on three sides of it (*Annals*, ch. 30, p. 13*a*). For the first time, Hsining started to become a real city, the only one in the whole country.

It is tempting to suppose that, at the time of the ex- 775 pansion of the city, the temple of the "Earth Tower" 771 might have been built, for it could easily have been pro- [792] tected by the garrison troops who farmed the fields around it. On the other hand, it is an historical fact that Buddhism already had a firm toehold in China in the second half of the second century A.D. It seems possible that among these colonists some might have been professing Buddhists when they arrived in Huang-chung, because Buddhism was the religion of the people. If so, Buddhism might have been imported by the colonists and practiced among them during the second century A.D. However, another possibility is not precluded. Monks who were attendants for the early translators of Buddhist texts (A.D. 148) might have settled in the emporium of Liang-chou, diffusing Buddhism as monks used to do in the oasis cities of Turkistan. Some among them might have tried to go to Hsining to spread Buddhism, after the city had been built and relative security provided. However, no historical data are available to support either of these two suppositions.

More can hardly be said about the diffusion of Buddhism in Huang-chung during the first three centuries of our era, because of the lack of historical data.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY HSIEN-PI TRIBES?

The region of Huang-chung, and its neighboring countries, upset during the second and third centuries by three noticeable invasions of Hsien-pi tribes which settled in the country, driving out the larger Tibetan

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border a third colony from the 'Far West,' this time located in [113] modern Kansu. In the list of Hsien dependent on the prefecture of Chang-Yeh we have Li-Chien-Hsien. . . . It is tempting to see in the name of this administrative subdivision of a western Chinese province a variant transcription . . . which is one of the names under which the Roman Orient was known to the Chinese of the Han dynasty. . . . The name of the little Chinese city on the desert road to the West, would indicate that an important Western community must have sent out its sons to the distant land of the Seres to imprint the name of the metropolis on an outpost of the Han Empire." See also M. Medard, Ta-Ts'in, Province romaine en Asie, *Journal de Pékin*, 141 *et. sq.*, 1936.

[p. 10(A)]

tribes [12] and assimilating the smaller ones, changed the 175
whole of the population. This raises the question 771
whether Buddhism was spread into the country by these Hsien-pi tribes. It could hardly have been spread by the group of nomadic Hsien-pi tribes called *T'u-fa* which, coming along the Yin-Shan, settled in the region between Lan-chou and Hsining during the second century A.D.[13] No historical data exist concerning the diffusion of Buddhism along the Yin-Shan at that time. Consequently, these Hsien-pi tribes did not spread Buddhism in Huang-chung at the time of their arrival.[14] Two centuries later they founded an ephemeral realm called "Nan-liang," having its capital in Hsining (339–414). For the same reason, Buddhism cannot have been spread at the time of the arrival of the second group of Hsien-pi, called the Ch'i-fu tribes, which in the third century A.D. came from the northern desert, where they lived as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, and then settled in the country of the T'ao River, south of Hsining. They founded the ephemeral realm of Hsi Ch'ing (385–431) with its capital in Ho-chou.[15] Nor can Buddhism, again for the same reason, have been spread at the time of the arrival of a third strong group of Hsien-pi, the T'u-yü-hun tribes which, living as nomads along the same Yin-Shan, settled in A.D. 280 in the neighboring region of Hsining and in Kukunor, and founded a realm which lasted until 672. At the time of the invasions by these Hsien-pi tribes in the country of Huang-chung, they were still buried in barbaric darkness.

WAS BUDDHISM SPREAD BY THE BUDDHIST KINGS OF LIANG-CHOU?

This interesting problem will be approached from 175
geographical and historical aspects. The countries of Huang-chung and Liang-chou are separated by the Nan-Shan (southern mountain range), across which many low passes facilitate communication. During the Hou-Han dynasty Huang-chung depended on Liang-chou.[16] Later on, it was conquered and governed successively by the kings of the ephemeral realms of Ch'ien-Liang, Hou-Liang, and Pei Liang, who resided at the important emporium of Liang-chou.[17]

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[12] Wieger, *Textes historiques* 2: 1207–1208, Ho-chien Fu, Imprimerie de Hien-hien, 1904.

[13] O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches, op. cit.* 2: 112.

[14] James A. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* 30: 126, 1933. "Before the Wei had established their realm in the north. . . . They had not yet heard of Buddha, or if they had, they had not yet put their trust in him." Wei, alias Yüan Wei, ruled over varying portions of North China from 386.

[15] Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 85.

[16] *Yüan huo Chün-hsien chih*, ch. 29, p. 15.

[17] Wolfram Eberhard, *Das Toba Reich in Nord China*, 180, Leiden, Brill. In 439 T'o-pa Wei conquered Pei Liang, the last of the petty realms which had successively settled in Liang-chou from 345 on. These realms had so monopolized the entire trade of Central Asia that Liang-chou became the most important colony of foreign traders, whose caravans arrived incessantly.

The Chin dynasty, which started in A.D. 265, had 175
been unable to control its empire, which was invaded by the northern barbarians. The governors of the distant Liang-chou, according to the circumstances, recognized the authority of either the empire or one of the nearest new barbarian kingdoms (Chao, Ch'ing, Wei), or both at the same time, or even declared themselves independent, founding their own kingdoms and expanding their power and influence as far as Turkistan and Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, pp. 14–17).

From 345 until 439 Liang-chou was not only the 175
most important emporium of the West but also the most 771
active cultural center of Buddhism.

The kings of Ch'ien-Liang (345–385) promoted and protected Buddhism.[18] The kings of Hou-Liang (385–401) were as fervent protectors of Buddhism as the kings of Ch'ien-Liang.[19] However, Buddhism reached its highest degree of intellectual activity during the period of Chü-ch'ü Meng-hsün of Pei Liang (401–439), who controlled Turkistan and nearly the entire east of modern Kansu.[20] His counselor was the celebrated Dharmaksema.[21] One is easily tempted to suppose that Buddhism was diffused on a large scale in the countries subjected to unusually fervent Buddhist rulers—and all
the more since during the period of 401–439, two [167]
thousand families from Liang-chou were transported to Huang-chung (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 30, p. 17*b*), three thousand from Yung-ch'ang (ch. 30, p. 18*a*), and five thousand from Ho-chou (ch. 30, p. 18*b*). It seems to be an axiom that in Asia, and especially among

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Because China at that time was involved in endless wars, many Chinese from Ho-pei, allured by the prospects of peaceful living and profitable trading, moved into Liang-chou. The acquisition of the wealthy and rich emporium of Liang-chou had also been the motive for the expedition of the T'o-pa and the destruction of Pei Liang. The Chinese population of Liang-chou, according to the custom during these ages, were then taken slaves to populate the realm of the T'o-pa.

[18] They built the big monastery and superb tower in the city of Liang-chou, the first grottos of *Sha-chou* (Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1185), and supported Chih-shih-lün, an Upsaka of the country of the Yüeh-chih, who translated in Liang-chou four volumes of Buddhist texts (*A catalogue of the Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka*, App. II, No. 35, p. 398, Bunyiu Nanjio, 1930), and the Chinese *Sramana* Chu Fu-nien who translated 12 works (Catalogue . . . App. II, No. 58, p. 405).

[19] The king's counselor was the Indian monk, Kumarajiva, who translated the 200 and more volumes of the Sutralankara (*Nanjio catalogue*, App. II, No. 59, p. 407) in Liang-chou. They built a tower and a monastery in the city, said to contain the relics of the monk (*Annals* of Liang-chou, 30*a*); the monk was very proficient in foretelling the future (*ibid.*, 34*b*, 35*a*.)

[20] *The Bunyiu Nanjio catalogue of Chinese translations of the Buddhist Tripitaka* mentions no less than nine names of learned foreign monks working in Liang-chou, supported by the king, translating 82 works from Indian and Sanskrit into Chinese (App. II, p. 410, No. 61, pp. 64–72). Nan-yang-hu, the nephew of the king was a translator (App. II, No. 83). Walter Fuchs, Zür technischen Organisation der Übersetzungen buddhistischer Schriften in Chinesische, *Asia Major* 6: 84, 1930.

[21] *Annals* of Liang-chou, 34*b*. Franke, *op. cit.* 2: 196. Ware, *op. cit.* 2: 133.

[p. 11(A)]

the nomadic tribes, subjects adopted the religion pro- 175
fessed by their kings or chiefs. Even in Europe there 771
existed the sayings: *Regis ad exemplar* ("Subjects follow the pattern set by the king"), *cujus regio ejus religio* ("Let the religion of each state follow that of its prince"). However, not a single fact is recorded in the
Annals concerning the building of Buddhist temples or [792]
monasteries in Huang-chung during this century of intensive cultural Buddhist activity promoted by the conquerers and rulers of Huang-chung in their capital of Liang-chou. This fact seems to challenge belief. Possibly the insecurity in the country on account of the military actions accompanying the conquest, carried on by the three successive rulers in the span of a century (345–439), and the disturbances following the transportation of such important groups of families, afford
the explanation. Perhaps the Buddhist cultural ac- [184]
tivities did not appeal so much to the people, as to the court and the administrative centers of the capital, and so the impact of Buddhism remained confined to the area of the capital.

The T'o-pa Wei conquered the kingdom of Pei Liang in 439, but at the time it was involved in a serious persecution of Buddhism (438–452).[22] From 445 until
635 endless troubles occurred in Huang-chung, on ac- [798]
count of the intermittent inroads of the T'u-yü-hun from Kukunor, and the T'o-pa, Sui, and T'ang dynasties successively had to wage war with them. (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 20*b*–24*b*). In 663 there started the intermittent inroads of the T'u-fan until 866 (*Annals*, ch. 30, pp. 25*a*–31*a*). During the Wu-tai period (907–960) China was unable to control Huang-chung. The Sung dynasty (920–1227) was powerless against the Hsi-Hsia and Chin, which successively occupied Huang-chung, but which themselves had trouble with the T'u-fan and Tang-hsiang (*Annals*, ch. 31, pp. 1*a*–8*b*). Finally, the Mongols conquered Huang-chung in 1227 and brought peace into the country. No wonder, during these eight centuries of intermittent troubles and change in the population, Buddhist activities were very limited, and the few existing institutions in depopulated Huang-chung were of minor importance.

HISTORICAL DATA ACCORDING TO TIBETAN SOURCES

However, the lack of information in the *Annals* of 175
Hsining relating to this period is compensated for by 113
data provided by the Tibetan *Blue Annals* of 'Gos lotsa-la composed between A.D. 1476 and 1478.[23]

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[22] Ware, *op. cit.*, 135, ". . . when in the period T'ai-yen (435–440) the province of Liang was conquered and its population moved to the capital, the monks and Buddhist paraphernalia all came East, and the counterfeit teaching increased far and wide. Presently, owing to the large number of Sramanas, an Imperial order was given to unfrock those under 50 years of age."

[23] George N. Roerich, The Blue Annals by 'Gos lo-tsa-la, *Jour. Royal Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1949: 1; 1953: 11. *The Blue Annals* and the *History of Buddhism* by Bu-ston Rin-po-

[P. 11(B)]

Buddhism, introduced in Tibet during the reign of 175
King Sron-btsan sgam-po, who died in A.D. 650 or 698, 771
was persecuted by King Lang Darma in either 841 or [798]
901. The persecution lasted for 70 or 108 years.
However, the doctrine continued to exist in Western Tibet (mNa-ris).

In Book II of the *Blue Annals* (pp. 65–66) it is stated that:

> dGe-ba rab-gsal started his religious life at the hermitage of Zin-dpon. Three hermits [24] had fled via Khotan, to the country of Hor (Uigur kingdom), during the persecution and proceeding to Amdo met with dGe-ba rab-gsal, born in 892 in the village of Jya-zur situated north of Hsün-hua on the northern bank of the Yellow River. One of these "Three Learned Men of Tibet" ordained dGe-ba rab-sgal who went to Kan-chou (Kansu) for study but could not enter Tibet on account of the famine. In a vision he saw "Asuras" known as the "Nine Brother Dwarfs" residing in the neighborhood of Mount Dantig, who invited him to go to their place where there are great hermitages "promising to become his lay supporters."
>
> In order to combat certain Yogis existing there, he laid the foundation of the monastery of Dantig, disciples joined him; he resided there for 35 years and died at 84 (975). Other celebrated fugitives of Tibet, called "The Six Men from *dbUs* and *gTsan*," who inaugurated the revival of Buddhism in Tibet, had met with dGe-ba rab-sgal, and had their ordination ceremony presided over by his disciple.

The text of the *Blue Annals* presents evidences of the existence of the hermitage of Zin-dpon and the founding of a hermitage at Mount Dantig by dGe-ba rab-gsal in the country where, during that period, there existed "great hermitages."

The text (*Blue Annals*, 65) fixing the location of Mount Dantig notes: "Ri Dantig is situated on the bank of the rMa-chu or Huang-ho, southeast of Kum-'bum and north of Hsün-hua." In the Introduction (p. 17), the author notes that "dGe-ba rab-gsal was born in 892 in Tsong-ka bDe-khams" (north Amdo; according to a local tradition his native village was Jya-zur, situated on the northern bank of the rMa-chu, north of Hsün-hua).

The location of Mount Dantig on which dGe-ba rab-gsal built his hermitage in A.D. 940, southeast of Hsining on the northern bank of the Yellow River, seems to correspond perfectly with that of the Mount Ami ch'ü-lu situated 140 *li* southeast of Hsining on which is built the actually still existing picturesque monastery of Sha-ch'ung. In 1910 its origin had been lost, but various surviving traditions attributed its origin to the Yüan

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che composed in 1322, partly translated by E. Obermiller, 1931, are the main sources of information for all later historical compilations in Tibet. *Ibid.*, Introduction, 1.

[24] *Idem*, 63, cites Bu-ston's *History of Buddhism*. Obermiller, *Blue annals*, 2: 201. The three men are called *Bodhi-kyi mkhas-pa mi-gsum* or The Three Learned Men of Tibet. They are buried in a temple at Hsining. In dPari, north of Hsining, there exists a stone pillar with the names of three men mentioned on it (verbal communication of Rev. dGe-dun Chos-'phel). I never heard about such facts during my sojourn in the country.

[p. 12(A)]

period (1280–1368). The site of the hermitage of Zindpon being less picturesque, it is hard to identify it with the monastery of Goorong bzan which is a neighbor of Sha-ch'ung.[25] 175 771 [792]

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[25] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient* 44: 229, 1951, identifies Sha-ch'ung (Sha-ch'ung of the Hsining *Annals*) with the monastery of the Rock of Bya-k'yun, below the city of Kui-te, south of Hsining, in the region of the Tibetans situated behind Tsong-ko. He gives details (p. 230) concerning the region of Tsong-ko situated between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng, where he notes the river of Tsong running in the valley between the cities of Tsong-ko and Shih-ch'eng. The *Annals* of Hsining provide more details; "the River Tsong is east of the city (subprefecture of Nien-pei) (ch. 4, p. 15*a*). The valley of Tsong is situated 30 *li* west of the Great Rapids" (ch. 4, p. 10*b*), which are *circa* 30 *li* east of Nien-pei. "The River Tsong-ko which is north of the old city of Tsong-ko is [also known as] the River of Hsining [Huang-shui]; when the river reaches the city of Tsong-ko it is then called Tsong-ko River. The river changes its name according to the places [through which it flows] (ch. 4, p. 17*a*). South of the subprefecture of Nien-pei, there exists a city of Tsong-ko." The Sung *Annals* note: "The city of Lung-chih, which is the old city of Tsong-ko, depended on the Chou of Hsining. Concerning old Lung-chih there are three: at the time of the Han dynasties the city was situated west of the actual Ning-I [Hsining] in the *Chün* of the western Sea (Kukunor); at the time of the Sui and T'ang dynasties Lung-chih was situated to the southwest of the actual Nien-pei near the Yellow River; at the time of the Sung dynasty it was located to the south of Nien-pei; therefore, it is an error to say indiscriminately that the old city of Tsong-ko was only one city." [103]

Shih-ch'eng (ch. 7, p. 13*a*) "is situated south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River." But ch. 7, p. 14 notes: "south of Nien-pei is the old city of Hua-ch'eng, which is properly the city of Shih-ch'eng established by the Hu-Wei; because in that region there was a Hua-lung valley, its name was changed to that of Hua-ch'eng hsien in 568 and in 712 the T'ang emperor adopted this appellation." (See also article *K'uo-chou, Annals*, ch. 7, pp. 12*a* and *b*.) However, ch. 4, p. 10 notes: "To the northwest of Hsining (region of the Kukunor) is a river running eastward (River of Hsining) passing south of Shih-ch'eng, which joins the river of the northern valley." This text and the former one concerning Tsong-ko seem to point to the strange fact that there have existed in the region of Kukunor a Tsong-ko and a Shih-ch'eng, before two cities called by the same names were established in the region south of Nien-pei.

In modern times the region south of Nien-pei near the Yellow River was separated from Nien-pei by the Ch'ing dynasty and organized as the T'ing of Pa-yen-jung. The Chinese Republic changed the name of Pa-yen-jung to Hua-lung hsien in honor of the old Hua-ch'eng hsien of 568, which at that time had taken over the place called Shih-ch'eng.

Conclusively, the former Tsong River joined the river of Hsining *circa* 10 *li* below Nien-pei; the region of Tsong-ko, Shih ch'eng in later times, was situated in the country south of Nien-pei and constitutes now, completely or at least for its largest part, the territory of Hua-lung hsien, near southwest of Nien-pei and really behind Tsong-ko as Stein notes: ". . . and southwest in Hua-lung hsien near the Yellow River is Sha-ch'ung."

More is available concerning the Tibetan tribes of Tsong-ko and the neighborhood from 1006 on (ch. 31, p. 1 *sq.*) fighting against and exterminating each other in the nomadic pattern; also about the Tsong-ko lama Li li-tsun, who married his daughter to the powerful Tibetan chief Kio-sse-louo, etc., which point to the fact that at that time these lamas belonged to the group of the Red Sect which was permitted marriage (ch.

Thus, in 940 dGeba rab-gsal, who had started his religious 175 life in the monastery of Zin-dpon, built a monastery 772 in Dantig. At that time there existed in that region "great hermitages" and a temple in Hsining, where the three learned men from Tibet were buried. Later their names were chiseled on a stone pillar in dPari (the region between the Ta t'ung River and Nanshan, reaching to P'ing fan). At what time were the "great hermitages," the monastery of Zin-dpon, and the temple at Hsining built? Were there at that time hermitages in dPari?

The *Annals of Kansu* 45, 65–66, and the *Annals of* 175 *Hsining* 30A, 30 a, b, record that during the span of time from the period of the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet (some years before 650 or 696), until its persecution (in 841 or 901), the T'ufan occupied Huang chung and Lungyu from 756 until 842, under the leadership of successive descendants of the imperial T'ufan family (Tsanpu), who appointed their own officials in the country without interference by the Chinese empire. It seems appropriate to assume that Tibetan lamas would at that time have followed the T'ufan tribes in Huang chung, and have built the "great hermitages" [772] and the temple in Hsining, being encouraged by the Tsanpu leaders, the promoters of Buddhism. Thus Buddhism would have been diffused in Huang chung between 756–842 by lamas from Tibet and that is why "great hermitages" and the temple in Hsining existed before 940.

The minor importance of these institutions founded in troubled times, the loss of traditions concerning their origin, and the minor interest of the Chinese scholars for Lamaism, explain the lack of records in the Chinese *Annals.*

Conclusively, from the very beginning of the Chinese 175 colonization of Huang chung until its conquest by the 771 Mongols in 1227, the foundation of the hermitage of Dantig in 940, and the existence at that time, of "great hermitages" in that region, and of a Buddhist temple in the city of Hsining, are the only Lamaist institutions concerning which historical records exist.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE YÜAN DYNASTY (1280–1367)

When the Mongols conquered Huang-chung, the 175 country was nearly depopulated. They found a few

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31, p. 2*b*). Also, more is available concerning the subject in *Kansu chüan shen Hsin-t'ung-chih*, 1909, ch. 46, pp. 6*b*, 7*a* and 7*b*. See also Wolfram Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 20, Brill, Leiden, 1942, Shih ch'eng, alte Hsiung-nu Gebiet.

Incidentally, I encountered in the Geographical work of [103] Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. of Bengal*, 1887, Pt. 1, No. 1, p. 28: "The north of Machhu is occupied by Chinese, Tibetans, Hor, Mohammedans [this seems to be the region of Pa-yen Jung], in the east of this tract lie the districts called Tantig and Yantig in which Tantig Shelgi is a sacred place." The location seems to be the region directly south of Nien pei. However, in 1910 no monastery existed in that region.

[p. 13 (A)]

Tibetan tribes, remnants of important ones which had 175 fled to Kukunor or Tibet. Mongol troops, divided into small units, were settled with their families under the leadership of clan chiefs at strategic points, in order to prevent possible inroads of hostile neighboring tribes. [563] A group of Shat'o living in the country since 936 joined the conquerers and was enlisted among the frontier defenders. The descendants of these groups constitute the Monguors to whom this study is devoted. Later there came also groups of Salars, Turks of Samarkand, to whom territories were assigned. More Moslems also settled in the country.[26]

GODAN

The Yüan dynasty is well known for its devotion to 175 Lamaism. In Tibetan and Mongol literature, Godan, 797 the brother of Güyük (the Emperor T'ing tsung, 1246–1251) is celebrated as the first ardent Buddhist Mongol prince who invited to his residence in Hsi-Liang the Sa-Skya Pandita, Chief Abbot of the Sa-Skya sect.

The holy man accepted the invitation and started his "apostolic" journey. He remained seven years in Hsi-Liang successfully diffusing the religion over the entire country.[27]

According to history, the troops of Godan had de- 175 feated the Tibetans northwest of Lhasa in 1239 and 648 destroyed a monastery. The Tibetans asked for negotiations in order to end the war. Godan urged a Tibetan delegate to come to his residence, and Sa-Skya Pandita, to whom this task had been assigned, started his "apostolic" journey on "command" from Godan, in order to avoid the worst. He delivered Tibet into the hands of the Mongol Prince, received a "gold patent," became an official under Godan, and Vice-regent of Tibet. His successors inherited this office.[28] Discontent among the Tibetans over the surrender of Tibet caused a new Mongol expedition to be sent in 1251. More rivalries and discontent had to be crushed again by the Mongol troops in 1267, 1277, 1281, and 1290.[29]

The Mongol emperors, hoping to keep the Tibetans [781] and Mongols in submission by manifesting reverence for the lamas and promoting their religion, lavishly showered favors and privileges on the lamas and became Lamaists themselves. Emperors and empresses received Lamaist initiation, and the Sa-Skya lama Phagspa, chaplain at court, was allowed to sit next to 175 the emperor.[30] The court of the Mongols was sincerely 771

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[26] Louis M. J. Schram, C.I.C.M., The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Part I, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **44** (1): 23–57, 1954.

[27] Huth, *Geschichte der Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, 130, 1896.

[28] Tucci, *Tibetan painted scrolls* **1**: 8, *et seq.* It is the merit [113] of Professor Tucci to have shed true light on this old myth about the ardent Buddhist Godan, his invitation to the Sa-Skya Pandita, and the political status of Tibet during the Yüan dynasty. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217–91, 578.

[29] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 18. See also Roerich, *op. cit.*, 216, 217.

[30] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 510–517–522.

[p. 13(8)]

Buddhist, and Peking was a Buddhist city. However, 175
the Mongols also favored all religions—shamanism, 771
Nestorianism, Catholicism.

The impact of Lamaism during the Yüan dynasty was [184]
limited to Peking. The number of conversions to Lamaism in Mongolia, and the number of monasteries, were insignificant, since when Altan, Khan of T'umed in 1578, proclaimed the Yellow Church the official religion of the Mongols, the Red Church was very nearly extinct. Possibly the appeal of Lamaism to the Mongols at that time was very limited because the marvels performed by the Red lamas (such as making rain, dispelling hail, predicting the future, rising in the air, subduing evil spirits, protecting the herds by sorcery) had already been performed by their own old shamans for centuries. So, for them, Lamaism could have seemed but another form of their own shamanism.

TA-FO-SSU

In the long list of monasteries and temples recorded 175
in the *Annals* of Hsining, there is mention only of the 792
monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the heart of the city, 346
with the note: " . . . it is an old monastery built by the Mongols, to which was granted during the Hung-wu period of the Ming (1368–99), the inscription 'Pacified Tibetans'" (*Annals* ch. 15, p. 1*b*). The temple complex in 1915, although in a state of total dilapidation, gave evidence that it must have constituted a fine monastery in former times. The main temple (two stories high) contained three huge statues of Buddhas, nine meters in height. The ruins of four smaller temples were still in existence, as well as a great number of small rooms, the habitations of former lamas. This temple was built by the ancestors of the Li T'u-ssu who fulfilled in Hsining the important office of Yu-ch'eng at the end of the Yüan dynasty. The clan of the Li T'u-ssu belonged to the Ch'u-yüeh tribe of the Shat'o group which founded the Later T'ang and the Later Chin dynasties (923–947). The Shat'o were Buddhists, and the emperors of their dynasties liked to visit the caves of Lung-men where they prayed for rain and snow.[31] They honored especially the Buddhist deity, Pishamen (*Vaisrayana*), one of the "Four Heavenly Kings," guardians of the four directions.[32] This devotion must have been old, because it is said that "Li K'o-yung as a youth once prayed in the temple of Vaisrayana."[33] No wonder then that the ~~Li~~ clan built the [771]
celebrated Ta-fo-ssu. However, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, the Shat'o had two religions. Besides Buddhism, the old Turkish "God of Heaven" was still worshipped by them. After the conquest of North China, the Shat'o also worshipped the gods of the Chinese official religion.[34]

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[31] Wolfram Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers*, 95, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[32] *Ibid.*, 96.

[33] *Ibid.*, 92.

[34] *Ibid.*, 94. Schram, *op. cit.*, 30.

[P. 14(A)]

At the beginning of the Chinese Republic (1911), 175
rumors upset the country for a long time, according to 114
which all the temples were to be confiscated and con- 792
verted into schools. The Li T'u-ssu, afraid of having his family monastery confiscated, and being squeezed to the wall, chose the lesser of the two evils. He reluctantly resolved to make some money from it and suggested that I buy it. Hoping to get more information about the history of the monastery, I asked for deeds and about the circumstances under which the Yüan officials had granted to his ancestors, in the heart of the city, the grounds on which the monastery had been built. "Father," he said, "No deeds exist, but is the secular tradition, well known all over the country, not sufficient to allow me to sell the family monastery?" Later, Goorongbzan, the most influential Living Buddha of the Red Sect, was in search of an opportunity to retrieve the old glory of his sect, which had been declining and waning on account of the protection and privileges accorded by the emperors of the Ch'ing dynasty to the Yellow Sect. As he was the sworn brother of the Moslem military commander of Hsining, Ma K'o-ch'en, who was at that time omnipotent, Goorongbzan called on his "brother" to obtain the necessary permission to restore the old monastery, which had been administered for centuries by lamas of his sect. A vehement protest by all the Living Buddhas of the Yellow Sect in the country was sent to the amban and to Ma K'o-ch'en. Eventually the officials confiscated the monastery, and thus ended the Ta-fo-ssu.

SHA-CH'UNG

Traditions still fresh and living, concerning mon- 175
asteries built during the Yüan period, linger among the 792
lamas of the Red and Yellow Sects. A tradition, well known all over the country, asserts that the oldest monastery in the country is that of Sha-ch'ung, situated on the left bank of the Yellow River, 140 *li* southeast of Hsining. It affirms that its founder was Karmabakshi (1203–1282),[35] the lamas belonged to the Karmapa, and that the celebrated Tsong khapa, founder of the Yellow Sect, started his religious career at Sha-ch'ung which went over to the Yellow Sect.

In 1918 I was a guest at Sha-ch'ung, a beautiful 792
lamasery. The temple, in the center of the complex of [346]
buildings, had a gilt tiled roof. It was situated on the Ami ch'ü-lu Mountain, commanding a wonderful outlook over the Yellow River and the surrounding moun-

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[35] Gunther Schuleman, *Geschichte der Dalai Lama*, Heidelberg, 1911. At the time of Güyük and Mönke most of the lamas on duty at the court were of Tangut origin and adherents of the Karmapa sect, spread from Tsang to Kukunor. They were proficient in magic, and rivals of the Sa-skya (p. 51). At the end of the Yüan dynasty their chief received an imperial diploma and seal (p. 56). During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) the most prominent among the bearers of the title of *Ta-pao-fa-wang*, "Great King of the precious law," was the chief of the Karmapa sect (p. 57).

[p. 14(B)]

tainous country. It was inhabited by two or three 792 hundred lamas of Tibetan origin, and had four colleges. The Abbot told me the monastery had been founded by a lama of Amdo, called Don dub. During the Yüan dynasty he had studied in Tibet. He was a learned man. The Abbot pointed to a stupa built on [346] top of the temple and said it contained the relics of the founder. He went on to explain that Don dub had been the Teacher of Tsong khapa (born in 1357, ten years before the end of the Yüan dynasty) who started his religious career at Sha-ch'üng, and that the teacher brought his pupil to Lhasa when he was sixteen years of age. Then the Abbot led me to a nice building claiming it was there Tsong khapa had lived.[36]

It is not known what kind of monastery Sha-ch'ung 175 ● was in the beginning; whether it was a small hermitage 792 where a few unmarried Red lamas lived together or only a temple where some married Red lamas gathered at fixed times. The latter, depending more or less on a chief chosen from among them, scattered over the country, their pupils living with them, farming or raising cattle and performing cultural rites when invited by the people to do so. Important lamaseries could hardly have existed at that time, because of the disturbed circumstances. Even if Sha-ch'ung was not the hermitage of Dantig, built in 940 by dGe-ba rab-gsal, it certainly existed at the end of the Yüan dynasty. Two facts seem to support the tradition.

Sha-ch'ung in 1916 was a neighbor of the most important 792 monastery of the Red Sect, whose Living 578 Buddha, Goorongbzan, presided over a group of more than two hundred lamas of his sect. The same year both lamaseries claimed to be possessors of a strip of intervening pasture, and had a fight at close quarters. Many lamas on both sides were wounded. Ma k'o-ch'en, the Moslem commander of Hsining, and sworn brother of Goorongbzan, put an end to the feud which had lasted for centuries. He adjudicated the possession [691] of the debatable pasture to Goorong, who produced deeds dating from the period of the Yüan, but which the former officials would never recognize because of the influence wielded by the Yellow Sect. This fact supports the evidence of the tradition according to which both lamaseries had existed during the Yüan. The old feud was rooted in the fact that Sha-ch'ung, which belonged to the Red Sect, later went over to the Yellow Sect, while the monastery of Goorong clung to its original Red Sect.

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[36] E. Obermiller, Tsunkhaba le Pandit, *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques* 2: 321, Louvain, Istas, 1934–1935. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism,* 2nd ed., 59, W. Heffer, Cambridge, 1934. Wilhelm Filchner, *Kumbum Dschamba ling,* 175, Leipzig, 1933. The confirmation of this tradition is found in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomankhan of Amdo, translated by Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* Pt. I, 1: 27, "Chya Khyung, the seat of Chhoije Tondub Rinchhen, contains his tomb as well as the residence of Tsong khapa."

[p. 15(A)]

A second fact is encountered in a publication of Ma 792
Fu-hsiang.[37] For many years he was the most prominent 578
official of Hsining engaged with Tibetan and Mongol affairs. Later, he became governor of Suiyüan Province and a member of the Meng-Tsang Yüan in Nanking. The passage from the publication states:

> More than 100 *li* southeast of Hsining, on the territory of the 'Ten Tribes,' is the Ami chü-lü mountain upon which was built the monastery of Sha-ch'ung which had more than 1,000 lamas. It was there that Tsong khapa had his hair clipped [entered religion], and remained for more than 10 years, starting his studies and religious life, before he went to Tibet (p. 198).

In 1906 the Chinese started digging for gold in the 792
sacred mountain. The lamas, opposed to the digging, 627
fought and two men were killed. The governor of the province ordered punishment to be imposed upon the lamasery with ruthless severity. Ma Fu-hsiang, being acquainted with the Tibetans, sought to settle the question amicably and went to Sha-ch'ung. The rebelling lamas and 1,000 soldiers of the "Ten Tribes" were determined to fight the Chinese troops. During the long period of discussion, the head of the lamasery repeated over and over that the lamasery and the mountain were hallowed places, because it was there that the founder of the Yellow Church had clipped his hair and remained for more than ten years. He protested that by digging at these spots the "artery" of the Yellow Church would be damaged, and the ruin of its religion be made inevitable (p. 190). Finally, as always in the Orient, a 175
way was found to settle the case, by promising that no 771
more digging would be done on the Sacred Mountain; 792
but on the territory of the "Ten Tribes" digging would be allowed (p. 193). This fact gives evidence of the deep-seated conviction among the Tibetans about the veracity of the tradition and infers the existence of the lamasery at the time of the Yüan period (1280–1367). More traditions exist about monasteries having been built during the Yüan period, as related by the lamas, but they are vague and no names or specific places are indicated nor do ruins exist. However, it is not impossible that the traditions point to the hermitages noted in the *Blue Annals*. The building of the big monastery of Ta fo-ssu by one of the important T'u-ssu clans reveals the fact that Lamaism was a living entity among the T'u-ssu and their Monguors. Is it not too far-fetched to suppose that among the T'u-ssu only the Li [622
T'u-ssu were Lamaist, since it is well known that the 624]
Ch'i and Lu T'u-ssu in 1644 were proprietors of monasteries constructed by them, although we do not know when they were constructed.[38] Besides, the facts that the monastery of Goorongbzan existed near Sha-ch'ung, and that in the beginning of the Ming a board of lamas was established, suggest the assumption that in Huang-chung during the Yüan period there probably must

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[37] Ma Fu-hsiang, *Meng Tsang Chuang-k'uang*, Nanking, Chung-Hua yin-shu kung-ssu, 1931.

[38] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 34, p. 3*a*.

[p.115(B)]

have existed more insignificant ~~hermitages,~~ scattered over the country. The lack of historical data does not permit further assertion about the diffusion of Lamaism during the Yüan period. 175 771 792

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE MING DYNASTY (1368–1643)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE MING

The emperors of the Ming dynasty followed in the wake of those of the Yüan dynasty, protecting and promoting Lamaism among the Tibetans and the Mongols, in order to hold in subjection the turbulent tribes living in remote countries. This policy indeed was less expensive than that of venturesome military expeditions. 175 662 771

The perspicacious Chinese Ming emperors from the very beginning grasped the capital flaw inherent in the policy of the Yüan, in regard to Tibet. Khubilai must have known that the Tibet of the thirteenth century was not the Tibet of the seventh and eighth centuries, when the Tibetan tribes, united by powerful chiefs and allured by the prospect of plundering, marauded over the western and southern frontiers of China, and in 763 even plundered the capital of China with 200,000 men. Tibet of the thirteenth century was a disintegrated country, divided among antagonistic aristocratic families, each claiming to be the protector and defender of its preferred lama sect and powerful lamasery. The armed struggles between these families had involved, necessarily, the sects they protected, and caused the sects to fight on the side of their protectors and to ruin each other. Thus the doctrinal divergences between the sects seem not to have been the capital cause of the fierce hostility among them.[39]

The appointment of the Sa-Skya great lama as Viceregent of Tibet at the time Godan had fanned the flame of the long-standing animosity and hatred among the aristocratic families and sects, to the extent that five times Mongol armies had to be sent to quell the revolts. Notwithstanding this initial political blunder, Khubilai and his successors continued to extend their special protection to the Sa-Skya sect and to lavish on it the highest possible marks of honor at court.

However, at the end of the Mongol dynasty the powerful aBrigumpa sect had succeeded in overthrowing the Sa-Skya. Therefore, from the very beginning, the Ming dynasty avoided having to back and restore the supremacy of the decaying Sa-Skya or to patronize the most powerful aBrigumpa. It lavishly granted the same titles and favors to chiefs and influential lamas of different sects, using them for its political purposes. On the one hand, all the rival Lamaist sects had to stand on the same footing, and had to curry favors with the emperors, but, on the other hand, more and more favors had to be granted, and Lamaism reached a very high degree in Huang-chung.

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[39] Tucci, *op. cit.*, 39, *et seq.*

[p. 16(A)]

The author of the *Annals*, dealing with the diffusion 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, seems to have neglected 771
completely even the existence of Lamaism before the 114
Ming (1368). He seems very articulate concerning the problem, claiming that its diffusion had really started during the first years of the Ming and that, in fact, by the foundation of monasteries, the granting of titles to lamas, the institution of Nang-suo, Karwa, and Ch'an-shih chia, the outlook of the entire country was changed and the possession and population of Huang-chung assured.

PECULIAR POLICY IN HUANG-CHUNG

Founding of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an 175

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 13*a*, 648
13*b*) that 662

> At the beginning of the Ming dynasty San-la, a Tibetan lama of Hsining, wrote a letter to induce the tribes of Han-tung to submit,[40] and built a monastery south of Nien-pei and settled there. He went to court and brought a tribute of horses, and he begged for a rescript to administer the monastery and the tribes, and for the favor of an inscription for the monastery. The Emperor T'ai-tsu (1368–1399), granted his request and favored him with an inscription reading: "Ch'ü-t'an." The Emperor established a board of lamas in Hsining and named San-la the director of the board. From that time on his pupils emulated him in building monasteries; the Emperor bestowed glorious names upon them, and in addition gave rescripts for administering them. Consequently, land and power became monopolized by the barbarian lamas. During the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) there were bestowed, piecemeal, on the lamas, the titles of "Ch'an-shih" (Master in Dhyana), "Kuan-ting" (one whose head had been anointed), "Kuo-shih" (master of the empire); some were even given the title of "Ta-Kuo-shih" (great master or teacher of the empire), "Hsi T'ien Fo Tzu" (Buddha of the western Paradise; Amitabha). To all he gave seals and diplomas, and allowed [their dignities] to be transmitted, and they were ordered to bring, once every year, a tribute to the court.
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> Because the lamas were held in high esteem among the 175
> barbarians, the government took advantage of them in 792
> order to keep the barbarians in submission. The people of 622
> the frontiers considered the dignity of the lamas as most glorious. For that reason, Tibetans and Monguors who had two sons, were certain to have one of them become a lama. Some even preferred not to have an heir, but ordered their sons to enter religious life. Tibetans and Monguors bequeathed their wealth to the monastery with a request for prayers, leaving their descendants destitute. Thus the barbarians became poorer and the monasteries richer. In each tribe there were people who submitted themselves to monasteries and became like a tribe, the subjects of the monastery [Shabinar].[41] The Chinese officials also entrusted the Tibetan monks with the duty of exchanging tea for horses.

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[40] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches* 2: 218. Han tung "was situated in the land, which in the days of the Han constituted all the district of Tun-Huang."

[41] Shabinar disciples. Shabinars are the supporters of the lamas, giving them material sustenance. At first some disciples performed this task. By extension, it came to mean lay adjuncts of the lamasery, and at present it means the subjects of the lamasery.

[p. 16(B)]

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The first Ming emperor was delighted with the good will and efforts of San-la in bringing the Tibetan tribes into submission; he aimed to set an example of his high appreciation for the achievement, by rewarding San-la in an unusual way, thereby encouraging other lamas to follow his example. San-la appears to have been the first lama to act in this way, which explains the emphasis on his career in the *Annals* and the mention of him also in the general history of the Ming dynasty (ch. 300, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is further recorded in ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a* of the *Annals,* concerning the appreciation of the Ming emperors for San-la and his brothers that:

> . . . in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) an imperial rescript was sent to build a monastery [presumably with a large sum of money]; two lamas of the group received the distinction of Kuo-shih ["teacher of the empire"], three received that of Master in Dhyana; a vast territory was granted; a gold and a silver seal were bestowed, each being 14 inches in circumference; one square jade seal, two ivory ones, and the inscription for a stele. During the Hung-hsi and Hsüan-te periods (1425–35) two texts, composed by the emperors, were again granted for two more steles.

This last text, encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining, is excerpted from the *Ming shih* (ch. 330, pp. 3*b*, 4*a*). It is very informative concerning the pro-Lamaist policy of the Ming, and the position of Lamaism in the country of Hsining at that time. According to the text, the Yung-lo period (1403–1424) was the beginning of the granting of titles to "influential lamas," which explains why no title is recorded for the meritorious San-la who received the chieftainship of the tribes and of the lamasery in the beginning of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399). The same practice concerning the granting of titles, found in the *Ming-shih* (ch. 330, p. 4*a*), mentions that in 1426 the additional title of "great teacher of the empire" and the honor of the fourth official grade had been bestowed on five lamas of note, to whom the title of "teacher of the empire" had previously been granted (1403–1424), because of their merits in helping to quell the revolts. The title "Master in Dhyana" and the honor of the sixth official grade had been granted probably for similar reasons.[42]

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[42] The granting of titles, however, did not start with the Ming; the *Wei-tsang-t'ung-chih, Chüan chou* (p. 27*a*) records: "Kubilai [1280–1295] in the beginning [of his reign] granted the title of Ta-kuo-shih great teacher of the empire, to the Sa-Skya lama, Phagspa, and later bestowed on him the title of 'great king of the precious law,' *Ta-pao-fa-wang.* When he spoke to him he called him, honorably, *Ti-shih,* 'teacher of the emperor'; at the same time to lama Tan-pa was granted the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and the number of those upon whom this title had been bestowed was not restricted to one. During the Hung-wu period [1368–1398] the titles of 'teacher of the empire' and 'great teacher of the empire' were only granted to four or five lamas. During the Yung-lo period [1403–1424] the title of 'king of the law' had been granted to two lamas, and that of 'Buddha of the western Paradise' to two

[p.17(A)]

REASONS FOR THIS POLICY

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The texts are very informative concerning the reason 792 why, and the circumstances in which, titles were granted 554 to lamas, and how Lamaism was as a consequence dif- 662 fused in the country of Hsining and gained its tremendous influence and power.

The Ming dynasty in 1368 faced a double problem.[43] On the one hand, it had to take possession of the country and to protect it against inroads from turbulent nomadic tribes. On the other hand, the country having been depopulated during the disorders at the end of the previous dynasty, it had to find permanent trustworthy settlers and to attach them to the soil. The first problem was solved by accepting the submission of the groups of Monguors, making their chiefs T'u-ssu, Chinese officials, and wardens of the region and the passes, which they had guarded during the Yüan dynasty, and by means of sending a Chinese army of colonists and released prisoners. The second problem was tackled by favoring lamas, by attracting groups of families subject to them or tribes belonging to them or willing to submit to the empire, and assigning to them vast territories. Lamas were appointed chiefs of the [622] tribes, granted honorable titles and privileges which could be transmitted to their successors. They encouraged the building of monasteries. Mongol tribes from Ordos which invaded Kukunor, driving out or subduing the Tibetan tribes of that country, provided a favorable opportunity to use the influence of the lamas to accept and settle the fleeing Tibetan tribes without territory, who were marauding over the country.

The evidence for this policy is to be found in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 19, p. 3*b*): "The Tibetan Lung-pu tribe (2,000 families) devastated the country several times. The Chinese armies were unable to make them surrender. Finally the Chinese General Tung-lo invited So-nan-chien-tso, a lama of the monastery of Ta-ming, in order to exhort them to submit." He was successful in his attempt. The author naïvely notes that in the tribe there were "two masters of the empire."

Page 6*a*: "The Lung-pen tribe, administered by a lama, came to settle in the country [and to submit]. Its chief received the title of 'teacher of the empire' and the duty of *Chih-hui*."

Page 6*a*: "The Sina tribe [still governed by a Living Buddha] had a lama with the title of 'teacher of the empire' (because he submitted with his tribe)."

Page 6*a*: "The lama chief of the Ch'ia-erh-chih tribe

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other lamas; but to 18 lamas had been granted the titles of *Kuan-ting* or *Ta-kuo-shih*, or both. During the Ching-t'ai period (1450–1456) the titles were granted so profusely that we lose count." P. Pelliot, Les "kouo-cheu ou Maitres du Royaume" dans le Bouddhisme chinois *T'oung Pao* 12: 671, 1911. The title of "teacher of the empire" was used in China at the time of the northern Chi (550–557); the title is also encountered in north-west India in A.D. 500 and was already known in Central Asia in A.D. 382.

[43] Schram, *op. cit.*, 34.

[p. 17(B)]

bore the title of 'teacher of the empire,' and fulfilled 792
the duty of *Chih-hui*," for the same reason. 554

Page 8*b*: "The Ssu-hou-mi tribe had a lama 'teacher 662
of the empire' who had been granted a golden seal." 175
(This unusual favor must have been granted for the same sort of reason.)

Page 10*b*: "The Ssu-ngo-ssu-ko tribe, always revolting and plundering, submitted after a lama had settled among them; also the Hsiao-cha-erh tribe (p. 11*a*) settled inside the wall and submitted after a lama living in the western mountains of Su-chou had been sent from Tibet for that purpose. The Pen-la tribe submitted after a lama coming from the south had settled among them." Three more tribes governed by lamas submitted; the Na-erh-pu (p. 5*a*), the Yeh-ch'ü (p. 6*a*), and the Nan-ta (p. 6*b*).

The submission of tribes induced by lamas started at the very beginning of the Ming (1368), and continued during the entire Ming period. The country thus became populated by tribes which professed the Lamaism of the Red Sect. The strong appeal to submit was, on the one hand, the insecurity in the region of Kukunor and, on the other hand, the benefits which attached to submission.

THREE PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS FOR LAMAS

From the very beginning the Ming created in Huang- 175
chung for these lama chiefs three peculiar institutions: 792
the Nang-suo,[44] the Karwa, and the Ch'an shih chia. 554
Nang-suo and Karwa consisted basically of the granting 793
of a territory, the fixing of a yearly tribute, the recognition of the chieftainship of the lama who had brought in the tribe, and of the heritability of that chieftainship. The Ch'an shih chia also enjoyed the privilege of heredity and a yearly allowance of wheat-flour, but no territories were granted to them.

This peculiar characteristic of heredity for lamas is explained by the fact that at that time they must have belonged to the Red Sect, and have been married. Red lamas living in the same tribe must have had a chieftain among them who had been granted the privilege of having the chieftainship transferred upon his death to his son. The difference between Nang-suo and Karwa chiefs was that the Nang-suo chief was the leader of a group or community of lamas, so constituted that the entire group was interested in his privileges and benefits. The Karwa chief was a single lama presiding over a small group of subjects. His privileges included only his own family and private interests. The Ch'an shih chia's privileges applied only to him personally. Another important difference between Nang-suo and Karwa was that later, when a group of Red lamas adhered to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privileges of their chief lama were transferred to the intendancy of the monastery, while the privileges of a Karwa chief

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[44] Mathias Hermanns, *Die Nomaden von Tibet*, 262, Wien. Herold, 1949.

[p. 18(A)]

of the Yellow Sect were transmitted to his apprentice 175
(usually his nephew) and remained as before a private 792
interest.
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Nang-suo

Until 1723 there were eighteen Nang-suo in the country of Hsining. Sixteen of them were abolished after the revolt of that year. Only two managed to survive: the Nang-suo of Editsa, which had sent its allegiance to the Chinese General Nien Keng-yao before the troubles started, and the despised Sina Nang-suo which had been implicated in the revolt but changed its mind after the revolt appeared to be about to fail.[45] This explanation afforded by the Amban of Hsining and the history tallies well with what is told by the Monguors and the lamas all over the country, who disdainfully recall the sayings: *Chien pu kuo Editsa Nang-suo,* "no slyer creature than the Editsa Nang-suo," and *Sina Nang suo chiao ts'ai liang chia,* "The Sina Nang-suo plants his feet in two boats [is untrustworthy]." The Editsa Nang-suo having gone over to the Yellow Sect, the Nang-suo privilege was inherited by the intendancy of the monastery. Editsa was still flourishing in 1910–1920; Sina, however, had passed through a bad period.

According to the *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, pp. 6*a* and 6*b*;

> Sina was a group which submitted in 1380 and lived inside the wall, grazing its animals 60 *li* north of Hsining [region of T'o-pa], having a city and houses, and engaging in agriculture; it possessed a Buddhist temple, and its lama had received the title of "Master of the Empire," with silver and ivory seals. It was a group of 500 families, comprising more than 1,500 persons. It offered a yearly tribute of more than 300 horses. One of its subtribes was called the Small Sina tribe and lived in Ku-shan; its tribute was 30 or more horses. Its other subtribe was the Ssu-ta-lama tribe, and lived near the temple of Hsieh-erh-kang-chin; its tribute was 50 or more horses.

After the revolt, troubles did not cease within the Sina tribes, whose subjects had been compelled to participate in the rebellion at the beginning by the Nang-

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[45] *Tung-hua-lu,* First year of Yung-cheng period, 3: 23*a*, 25. *Ming-shih-lu,* Yung-cheng period, *Chuan* 12, [illegible] 27. In 1707 Father Regis, S.J., was sent by the emperor, during the period K'ang Hsi, to draw the map of the empire (Henri Cordier, *Histoire de la Chine,* 3: 333, Paris, Geuthner, 1920). He remained in Hsining for a month, visited T'o-pa and writes: "This village is not administered by Chinese officials, but depends on a lama, always chosen from the same family which belongs to this country. This family is the most outstanding one in the country. The lama administers these Tibetans (*Hsifan*) and punishes misbehavior. This people, not wholly subject to China, are rarely summoned by the Chinese officials, and seldom obey their orders. The lama chief does not seem to trouble the subjects very much, providing they honor him and fulfill their obligations toward Buddha, which seem not to be too burdensome. The three or four Armenians who were trading furs in T'o-pa, seemed very pleased with the chief lama, and praised his administration." (J. B. DuHalde, *Description géographique de la Chine,* 49–50, 1736.) Schram, *op. cit.,* 36.

[p. 18(B)]

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suo chief, and had suffered enormously. Finally they 175
refused to deliver taxes to the Nang-suo and asked 792
the Chinese officials to accept them as Chinese subjects. 554
The request was readily granted, and an arrangement 793
was made between the Chinese officials and the Nang-suo by which every year the subprefect of Hsining was to pay 1,500 strings of cash to the Nang-suo; the Nang-suo could only collect the rents, and his subjects were henceforth considered Chinese subjects. This happened after 1755, because the *Annals* (ch. 19, 15*a*), say that "in 1755 the chief of the Sina tribe, which numbered 1,379 persons, resided in the village of the upper Sina lamasery." In 1910 most of its fields had been sold by the Sina intendancy, which had adhered to the Yellow Sect. Its resources were so depleted that the seals of the former Nang-suo had been mortgaged to the lamasery of Kumbum, which thereby acquired the authority to collect the rents from the remaining properties.

The Lung pen Nang-suo is often spoken about in the country. It lived on both sides of the wall in former times and submitted in 1380, together with its neighbors, the Sina tribe, and then moved inside the wall. It numbered 130 families. Its lama chief had received the title of "Master of the empire" and the official rank of Chih-hui. Its subtribe, the Pen-pa-erh had one hundred or more families (*Annals*, ch. 19, p. 15*a*). In 1916 the impoverished chief was still called Nang-suo lama locally. He lived in the Naring Valley. He told me that his lamasery had been destroyed in 1723 and that the lamas had disappeared. His subjects, who had become subjects of the Chinese officials, lived in Ta-Hsiao-Kang-ch'eng. His predecessors had sold nearly all the fields and he could not collect the rents on the remaining fields. His neighbors said that his predecessors had mortgaged his seals to the intendancy of Sina. In early times they had two temples, Lung pen kui ssu and Lung hua ssu, which were destroyed during the revolt. Only one side of one of the temples had been rebuilt and the lama still collected some alms among his former 373 families. Often recalled also in local tradition are the Nang-suos of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, abolished after 1723. They were important in former times.

Karwa [46]

According to a tradition well known all over the region, thirteen Karwa were established north of the Hsining River during the Ming dynasty. In 1912 seven of them still existed, Li-ch'i, Ch'ien-tsun-urgon, Pei-cha-erh-ti, Sia-mer, Tsan-tsa, Chao-chia, and Huo-puo. There are no records of Karwa south of the

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[46] The word *Karwa* is used in the country to designate the residences inhabited by Living Buddhas in the lamaseries; it is also used to indicate a domain and subjects granted by the Chinese emperors of the Ming dynasty to meritorious lamas as their "personal" property with "right of bequeathing" it to their lama successor. It does not mean a grant of domains and subjects bestowed on a community of lamas or a lamasery.

[p. 19(A)]

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seig- 175
niory presided over by a lama. Granted by the em- 792
peror, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually 554
forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had 793
152 families (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 19, p. 16*a*). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a 792
member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his 796
own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its
temple, about which more will be said. 792

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his 554
estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members 428

[p, 19(B)]

of his family assembled and protested, urging that a 792
boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord 554
as his apprentice, and that a testament should be written 428
and signed by the officials of the village, in order to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to receive a serious religious education. Not long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife, the lord died. His wife received a small field and some cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice. The domain passes at every generation to a member of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family. This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout the country, and the pride of the old families to whose lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice, the whole family convenes and decides to offer the domain to a lama member of the family. However, when there is not such a lama, the members of the family divide among them the domain and private property of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families) 175

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be 792
in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was 554
attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhyana"), [681]
the privilege of receiving every year from the Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be the reason why the people always talk of Master in Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River, with which I was best acquainted, there were still several Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery, living next to their relatives and each having a small temple of his own. The family tried to provide a nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by the transfer of the original seal and the original patent letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, 554
their families being exempted from land taxes because 428
they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia, a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

The principles on which succession by reincarnation are founded 792 795 had existed for centuries, but had not yet been generally applied. The next prominent lama to whom the principles were applied was the Panchen lama of Tashilhumpo. In the next two centuries succession by reincarnation, inaugurated by the Yellow Sect in 1475, spread to such an extent that every monastery, including less important ones, of whatever sect, had its own Living Buddha. Some of them had several in the same monastery.[48] Even the superior of the convent of nuns, situated on the shore of Lake Yandok, having defended her convent against the invading Mongols in 1716, became the incarnation of Palden Lhamo, celebrated all over Tibet and Mongolia, and the potent protector of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas and Lhasa.

In the first Part of this study it was noted that Palden Lhamo is the protectress of the clan of the Li T'u-ssu, which honors her in a peculiar way.[49] Her picture is carried by the T'u-ssu on his triennial visit to the Monguor villages in order that all the clansmen and the subjects may perform their obeisance before the image. In Huang-chung the passion for Living Buddhas went so far as to declare the father of Tsong khapa a reincarnation, called Achia Bsan, which is the proprietor and grand chief of the Kumbum monastery. Even this was not enough. Tsong khapa's mother was also declared a reincaration, but her reincarnation always appears in a boy, who is the Living Buddha of the monastery of Rardscha, on the upper reaches of the Yellow River. However, according to Lamaist doctrine and rites, the father's reincarnation takes precedence over the mother's. Each reincarnation has a residence in Kumbum, but the father, being the grand chief of the monastery, has his own headquarters.[50]

TEMPLES BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY 775

In analyzing the Ming policy concerning Lamaism 792 in Huang-chung, it is of interest to know how many 346 monasteries were built in Huang-chung during this period.

Included in the long list of temples found in the *Annals* of Hsining there are recorded in ch. 15, pp. *7b* and *8a*, the temple of Ch'ü-t'an, as having been built in the beginning of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424); ch. 15, p. 2, the small temple of Hung-t'ung-ssu in the city of Hsining in 1390; ch. 15, pp. *4b* and *5a*, the famous monastery of Kumbum, adding that only in 1596 were negotiations begun to enlarge its buildings and to construct a big monastery; in ch. 31, p. *14a*, in the account of revolts of Tibetans and the inroads by Mongols from Kukunor, it is incidentally noted that the monastery of Hung-shan-ssu, 60 *li* south of Ch'ü-t'an, had been looted and destroyed in 1519, as well as the temple of T'ieh-fu-ssu, 40 *li* west of Hsining in 1537 (ch. 31, p. 15*a*). 175 792

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[48] Maraini, Fosco, *Secret Tibet*, 144, translated from the Italian by Eric Mosbacher, New York, Viking, 1952.

[49] Schram, *op. cit.*, 65.

[50] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 237.

[p.21(A)]

The information in the *Annals* is restricted to these 346 five poor items. Huth notes[81] that the Third Dalai Lama, Sod-nam, on his way to Ordos in 1582, went from Kukunor to Kumbum and established a college there for the explanation of sacred texts. From Kumbum he went to Ribo-nan-tig (probably the hermitage of Dantig noted on pp. 31 *sq.*), to take a long rest; then, after visiting many big lamaseries, he arrived in the Ordos. I am unable to identify the names of the lamaseries noted here, and am very sceptical about these "big" monasteries, because no ruins, vestiges or traditions of them are preserved. The big monasteries of Huang-chung which have to be studied, were all built in more recent times. The historical data are again very scanty.

CH'Ü-T'AN-SSU, FIRST LAMASERY BUILT DURING THE MING DYNASTY

The first lamasery built during the Ming, according to the *Annals* (ch. 15, pp. 7*b* and 8*a*), is the famous monastery of Ch'ü-t'an.[82] The history of this first lamasery, built by the Ming emperors, is preserved in broad strokes in the text (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 32, pp. 16–20) of three steles, now demolished. All three give evidence of the high consideration of the emperors for Lamaism.

The first text was granted by Emperor T'ai-tsung (Ch'eng-tsu) of the Yung-lo period (1403–1424), and concerns a "golden" (bronze) statue offered to the lamasery by the emperor. The text notes that the artisans, not succeeding in preparing the mold for the statue, went to eat their meal. While they were gone the mold grew into perfect shape of its own accord. The statue was cast from it and exuded a wonderful perfume.

The second text was granted by Emperor Jen-tsung of the Hung-hsi period (1425). It recalls the merits of Emperor T'ai-tsu of the Hung-wu period (1368–1399), who founded the monastery, ordered the building of a temple, and granted the name of "Ch'ü-t'an," and of Emperor T'ai-tsung who ordered the construction of a second temple.

The third text, granted by Emperor Hsüan-tsung of the Hsüan-te period (1426–1436), ordered the construction of a third temple, after recalling summarily the history of the lama, San-la, and his tribe, and the grant of the monastery and its title.

Legends

The origin of the celebrated monastery is overlaid 538 with a wonderful legend, believed and enjoyed by the people. It should first be remembered that Emperor

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[81] Huth, *op. cit.* 2: 227.

[82] Ch'ü-t'an-Gautama, a name of Shakyamuni, means "most victorious on earth."

Yao-ts'ao-t'ai ("the terrace of medicinal herbs"), Hung- 792 shan-ssu, and three smaller ones. Yao-ts'ao-t'ai was 346 the vast pasture ground for the herds of the monastery and of the lamas. According to the abbots, it soon developed to the extent of having 200 lamas. Hung-shan-ssu soon had more than 150 lamas and received from the emperor a special grant of 500 taels every year (the reason is not known; *Annals*, ch. 15, p. 8*a*). In 1747 175 the allocation was still provided by the officials. The 792 Living Buddhas of the three monasteries told me that 346 because most of their lamas were of Monguor origin, their monasteries declined after Kumbum and Erh-kulung had been built, and the Monguor lamas had gone over to these lamaseries. However, there are other reasons which caused the decline of the flourishing monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, which at present is in a state of indescribable dilapidation.

In 1509 the Tibetans of Kukunor, driven from their pastures by the Mongol, I-pu-la, made inroads in Huang-chung. They looted and ruined the branch monastery of Hung-shan-ssu in 1519 (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 14*a*). In 1558 the Mongols of Kukunor looted and sacked Ch'ü-t'an (*Annals*, ch. 31, p. 16*b*) and the neighboring country; probably Yao-ts'ao-t'ai also. The Moslems, in 1862–1872, wrought terrible havoc on the temples and the palaces of the Living Buddhas, and burned the printing blocks of the library. In 1895 the temple was again looted by the revolting Moslems. Material damage and ruins, however, are reparable, but damage and ruin caused from within the lama institution itself are not.

The troubles started between the mother monastery 175 of Ch'ü-t'an and the branch of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, which is 792 situated on the rich pasture grounds and forests in- 578 cluded in the initial domain of the old monastery granted by the emperors. Very early, a couple of small temples and homes for lamas had been built on the spot, and a superior appointed. Around 1660, according to the abbots, more than 200 lamas lived at the subsidiary and more temples had been built. Its superior, a very learned and holy man, died and was reincarnated. His reincarnation was called Karang bzang and settled at [775] the subsidiary monastery. (At that time the vogue for reincarnations was in full swing.) Very soon the mother monastery had its own reincarnation, the Living Buddha Mei, and four small Living Buddhas. The branch also provided a small Buddha called the Liang-chou fo-yeh.

With both monasteries having Living Buddhas, friction started between them and lasted for more than two centuries. Jealousy and hatred became deep-rooted. Both monasteries behaved like ducks, appearing calm and unruffled on the surface, but paddling like devils underneath it. The eternal question of the corvées imposed by the mother monastery on its subsidiaries and the demand for land rents kept open festering wounds, and the yearly disputes grew more and more acute.

[p.23(B)]

Finally, in 1885 the branch declared its independence 175
and claimed to be possessor of the pasture and farm 792
grounds and the forests formerly entrusted to its care 578
by the mother monastery. A serious fight at close quarters occurred in the mother lamasery.

Ch'ü-t'an sued the branch to vindicate its rights of 691
proprietor of all the domains of Ch'ü-t'an. The lawsuit 792
was carried to the Court of Justice of the Subprefecture 662
of Nien-pe and lasted for two years. The Chinese officials, lavishly bribed by both groups, finally sent the lawsuit to the Court of the Prefecture of Hsining in order that their friends and superiors might have the opportunity to acquire some wealth and promote the cause of justice. Again, the lamas stubbornly spent their money for two years. Still unwilling to accept the verdict of the judges, the suit was sent to the Supreme Court of the capital of the province. Here the Chinese officials were very happy to meet the interested customers, and the gullible lamas started immediately to sow again, seeds of wealth and happiness in the gardens of the highest officials. For sixteen years the clever officials kept the wheels turning, encouraging both groups, exciting passions and stubbornness, promising to both sides a successful conclusion. The gullible lamas spent money, and the officials milked the meek cows dry. Finally, the wealth of the mother lamasery was exhausted first, so that the branch lamasery won the suit. The branch, during all the trouble, relied on the forests, sold wood, and was in a more advantageous position to "defend its rights." Throughout this long period the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung tried several times to spread oil on the troubled waters and settle the question amicably, but to no avail.

The loss of face for the mother monastery was too 627
humiliating. At night its lamas went to Yao-ts'ao-t'ai 579
and burned its temples; the next day the lamas of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai went at noon to Ch'ü-t'an and burned the palaces of the Living Buddha and killed two lamas. In 1905 the two groups, both bled white, agreed to have the question settled by Living Buddhas. An indemnity was fixed for the two lamas who had been killed, and because the damage caused by the fires was considered to be equal, the problem was settled.

In 1915 there were 285 lamas at Yao-ts'ao-t'ai: at the mother monastery there were only fifty or sixty, most of them children. Five hundred and fifty lamas had left the mother monastery, with four minor Living Buddhas, because they had been compelled to contribute to the expenses caused by the suit, and to fulfill the corvées imposed in connection with it. The administration of the mother monastery, in former times so flourishing and wealthy, was reduced to a minimum. One lama administered the property, a precentor led the prayers in the temple, and all the other duties were fulfilled by the Living Buddha himself. The homes formerly occupied by the six hundred lamas were inhabited by Monguor, Tibetan, and Chinese families.

Ch'ü-t'an was the only monastery in Huang-chung 792
where laymen and lamas lived in the same compound. 342
This fact reveals the mentality of the lamas and the customs of that time. These details were obtained from Living Buddhas and old lamas of Ch'ü-t'an and Yao-ts'ao-t'ai, and in Kumbum and Erh-ku-lung, and among chiefs of the villages near these places.

STAGNATION IN THE DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM

The building of the splendid monastery of Ch'ü-t'an, 175
the exceptionally favorable disposition of the emperors [771
toward Lamaism, the lavish granting of titles and 797]
privileges to lamas who induced Tibetans to submit, all seemed to augur a period of intensive diffusion of Lamaism in Huang-chung. However, for two centuries Ch'ü-t'an remained the only important monastery in
the whole country. Two reasons seem to account for 792
this: the insecurity in the region of Huang-chung, and 175
the violent struggle in Tibet between the sects, which depleted the forces of expansion of Lamaism abroad.

It is noted in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 31, pp. 12*b*–19*a*) that during the period 1448–1600 there were thirty-seven inroads of Mongols from Kukunor, the Ordos, neighboring Tibetan tribes, or revolts of Tibetans. Fortunately, the construction of Ch'ü-t'an was completed (1426–1436) before the troubles started. Certainly troubled times are not propitious for the building of big monasteries, so Nang-suos and Karwas necessarily remained humble institutions.

Conditions in Tibet were just as unfavorable: Tsong 175
khapa died in 1419. The five biggest monasteries of 771
his sect were built before 1437. The rival Red Sects were still so aggressive as to dare to build their monasteries close to those of the Yellow Sect, and were even able to hinder the lamas of the Yellow Sect from attending (1498–1518) the famous sMon lam New Year religious festival, instituted by Tsong khapa himself.[55] In 1537 eighteen monasteries of the Yellow Sect were destroyed. In 1553 a war broke out with the Galdan monastery.[56] In 1621–1631 Mongols were called in by the Dalai Lama to rescue his sect,[57] but the Mongol Nairamdahu, an adherent of the Red Sect, fled from Mongolia to Kukunor in 1633 and persecuted the Yellow Sect which had spread.[58] Finally, in 1642, Tibet was conquered by the Ölöt Mongols whose chief, Gushi, offered it to the Dalai Lama. Although it is recognized that the effective power of the Dalai began with the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam (1542–1587), his political power was still scanty and questionable; it only began to develop with the Fifth Dalai Lama, Nag-dban Blo bzang (1617–1682), when Gushi Khan renewed in his favor the endowment conferred by Khubilai on the Sa-Skya.[59]

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[55] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 39.

[56] *Ibid.*, 40.

[57] *Ibid.*, 58.

[58] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 132; also Huth, *op. cit.*, 51, 248–253.

[59] Tucci, *op. cit.* 1: 48.

The support and protection of the Mongols and of 175
the emperors of China saved and established the Yellow 648
Sect, which was on a foundation of rock. In 1717– 771
1719 the Jungar Mongols persecuted the Red Sects and [789]
destroyed 550 of their monasteries.[60]

KUMBUM[61]

The insecurity in Huang-chung and the struggle in 175
Tibet among the sects provide an explanation for the 792
late date assigned to the founding of the celebrated 346
monastery of Kumbum. One and a half centuries after the death (1419) of Tsong khapa, the lama Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, in 1560, built some "cells" for himself and his ten monks (hermitage). Later, twenty more cells were added. In 1577, seventeen years later, a temple was built close to the "tower," whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree which at that time must have been 220 years old (1357–1577), and a statue of Maitreya was honored in the temple.[62] According to this tradition and the customs of Buddhist India, a tower must have first been built on the spot of the birth of Tsong khapa to commemorate the event. It is not known when this tower was built.

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[60] L. Petech, *China and Tibet in the early 18th century*, 44, 71, Leiden, Brill, 1950.

[61] Kumbum, the lamasery of the 100,000 images is, at present, [792
the most celebrated lamasery of Huang-chung, because of its 137
precious trees, which are lilacs (Philadelphus, coronarius; see 755]
Rockhill, W., *Land of the lamas*, 67). The main tree sprang from the placenta of Tsong khapa (1357) and is said to have 100,000 images of Buddhas growing on its leaves. Much has been written about the tree. On May 6 and October 3, 1912, and on October 10, 1914, Father J. Essens and I read on the leaves only the two letters *Pa*, the thirteenth letter of the alphabet and *Ya*, the twenty-fourth letter, repeated indefinitely, written more or less correctly where the leaves were easy to reach. They were written with the red earth, which Chinese and Tibetan teachers use to correct the compositions of pupils. The sacred leaves are a wonderful panacea, healing all kinds of diseases of men, women, and children. It has been recorded that in Ch'ü-t'an and in Hung-shan-ssu the same kind of miraculous trees are encountered.

It is worth noting what is written regarding the tree (here called a "White Sandalwood") in the Geographical work of Tsampo Nomunkhan of Amdo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 1887, Part I, No. I, p. 28: "On the birthplace of Tsong khapa there exists a white Sandalwood tree, on every leaf of which, at the time of the reformer's birth, there appeared a picture of the Buddha Senge naro, supernaturally inscribed. Hence, from the circumstance of a 'hundred thousand images of Buddha' having appeared on the leaves, the town and the monastery is called Kumbum. Even at the present age, images are occasionally said to be seen divinely inscribed on the leaves of the Chandan tree and Sugpa trees of the grove. The enemies of the Gelugpa say that the said images are secretly drawn with pins and needles by the Gelugpa monks." The Chinese call Kumbum T'a-erh-ssu, that is, "the lamasery of the [eight] stupas," because at its entrance there are eight stupas said to contain the ashes of eight Living Buddhas killed by General Nien Keng-yao at the time of the revolt of the Kumbum lamas in 1723. Filchner (*Dschamba-ling*, 160) notes: "They were built at the time of the 31st mK'ampo of Kumbus [date not given] by the chief of Roko, native of Amdo, after eight lamas had been killed by a Chinese prince, ruler of the country."

[62] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 29.

In 1578, a year after the building of the first temple, 175
the Third Dalai Lama, Sonam, had his historical meeting 792
with Altan Khan of the T'umed, at which the Yellow 346
Sect was proclaimed the religion of the Mongols. 771
It is amazing that neither of them, during their long stay at Kukunor, visited Kumbum (only three days distant), the birthplace of the founder of the sect, or called on Achia, incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa, or took a glance at the first Yellow Sect temple and the miraculous tree. Possibly the temple had not yet been built nor the legend of the tree spread, nor the incarnation of the father of Tsong khapa recognized. However, four years later, in 1582, the Dalai, on his way to the Ordos, visited Kumbum where he founded a school for the explanation of the sacred texts (the school only started in 1600 or 1612) and then went for a long rest, not to Kumbum where the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father must have been, but to the monastery of Ribo Nantig (Huth, 227). Perhaps it was not convenient for the Dalai Lama to take a rest at the insignificant monastery of Kumbum, where neither a school nor the incarnation of Achia yet existed.

In 1600 the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, on his way 175
to Lhasa for his enthronement, passed through Kukunor, 792
where he remained for three months without 346
even paying a visit to Kumbum and the precious tree or to Achia, the incarnation of Tsong khapa's father! (Huth, 238). In 1652 the Fifth Dalai Lama on his way to Peking did not visit Kumbum. Was Kumbum still so insignificant at that time?[63] According to the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 15, pp. 4*b* and 5*a*), the decision to build a monastery on a large scale was made only in 1596. This decision does not seem impossible when it is connected with the fact that in 1593 new Chinese troops and colonists arrived in Huang-chung, making the peace prospects seem even brighter (ch. 31 p. 19*a*). At any rate, the monastery of Kumbum appears to have developed very slowly. Its first Tsan njid temple was erected in 1600 or 1612,[64] the Sutra temple of Mysticism in 1649,[65] the palace for the Khampo in 1687,[66] the Pakar-temple in 1692,[67] Duinkhor Kalacakra College in 1825,[68] College of Medicine in 1850,[69] and the celebrated gilt tiled roof was put on the temple in 1883.[70] Ac-

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[63] W. Rockhill, The Dalai Lamas of Lhasa, *T'oung Pao* 11: 14, 1910. Huth, *op. cit.*, 268.

[64] Filchner, *op. cit.*, 93.

[65] *Ibid.*, 124.

[66] *Ibid.*, 237.

[67] *Ibid.*, 230.

[68] *Ibid.*, 137.

[69] *Ibid.*, 65.

[70] *Ibid.*, 28. Because so much has been written about Kumbum, this study has been confined to the points relating to our subject. The major part of the lama population of Kumbum in 1910–1920 consisted of lamas of Monguor and Tibetan origin from Huang-chung; lamas of Mongolia have always been numerous, while lamas of Tibet constituted a minor group. Since the troubles in Kumbum in 1908–1909, between the Dalai Lama and Achia Hutukhtu, the proprietor of the monastery—reincarnation of the father of Tsong khapa—which ended with

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tually, Achia Bsan, reincarnation of the father of Tsong 175
khapa, is the proprietor and chief of Kumbum. 792

The *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* [71] notes that the series 346
of his incarnations began in 1417 (two years before the
death of his son, Tsong khapa!). It says that for
fifteen incarnations Achia administered the monastery 775
of Kumbum and was recognized as its chief and proprietor by the five tribes and the inhabitants of the seven valleys, and that he possessed a piece of pasture ground in Chahar. However, it notes also that, in 1746, the name of Achia Hutukhtu (his sixteenth incarnation) was drawn from the celebrated urn in Peking, and that an order was given to write the deeds of a pasture ground in Chahar. This text is a model of ambiguity and full of holes; it suggests that in 1746 Achia received for the very first time the title of Hutukhtu and that his name was registered on the roster of the Living Buddhas in the Mongolian Superintendency, although the process of reincarnation had begun in Lhasa only in 1475. Since deeds were then written, this implies also that at that time pasture grounds were granted to him for the first time. Thus, previous to 1746, no Achia reincarnation, chief of Kumbum, existed.

These assumptions seem to be supported by the fact 175
that it was not in 1417, but in 1560, that some poor 792
cells were built for the first time in Kumbum by lama 346
Rintschen Dson dui tschamtso and his ten monks and also by the facts that in 1719 the emperor ordered Skal bzan rgyamts'o, chief of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu to administer the monastery,[72] and that in 1723 mK'ampo Nomun-khan, head of the monastery of Kumbum and nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin, stirred the lamas to revolt and was made prisoner and the monastery was burned.[73] Until that time, not a single mention is made of Achia who, as head of the monastery and Hutukhtu, must have been the man responsible in such circumstances. However, the name of the real founder of the monastery is well known, as well known as the two other later heads and chiefs of the monastery.

It is a fact that Achia, created Hutukhtu only in 175
1746, had to remain in Peking, attached to the com- 214
mittee for the printing and translating of Tibetan books 814
into Mongol, which was presided over by the second incarnation of the Chang chia. "In the last half of the 18th century it seems to have been the vogue for translators to ask Achia for a postscript to their translations. Many works printed at that time bear a postscript 'by

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the suicide of Achia, there are no more lamas of Tibet in Kumbum. In 1746 the reincarnation of Achia received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor. From that time on, according to the abbots, the prominent lamas of Kumbum have always been Monguors.

[71] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih. History of the Buddhist religion in Mongolia and Tibet* **2**: 143, 1935.

[72] Han Ju-lin, *Pien cheng kung lun, (Frontier Affairs)* **3** (5): 15, 1944.

[73] *Yung-cheng Shih-lu, ts'e* 145, *Chuan* 14: 10.

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Achia.' "[74] However, the myth of his previous exist- 175
ences was deeply rooted. "In 1686, a previous exist- 214
ence of Achia, the 16th, is said to have resided in the 814
Yung-ho-kung temple of Peking, which had only been made a monastery in 1743. The roster of famous workers on the committee of translators at that time does not contain the name Achia."[75]

The emperor, after having drastically quelled the 175
lama revolt, permitted the rebuilding of the monasteries 662
of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, giving them the text of a 792
less honorable stele to be carved, and imposing on Erh-ku-lung the new name of Yu-ning-ssu, and on Seerkok that of Kuang-hui-ssu. The chief of the monastery of Seerkok (Chie bsan rimpoche) having been beheaded, the Dalai lama in 1727 sent to Peking a learned lama, Tsanpo of Amdo, whom he himself had previously honored by the title of Nomun-kan. In order to rebuild Seerkok, the emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu[76] and he became Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the new chief and proprietor of Seerkok. Since the chiefs of Erh-ku-lung had not plotted in the revolt, they were left undisturbed. Is it far-fetched to suppose that after the disappearance of mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the request of the Dalai Lama, Achia became the new chief and proprietor of Kumbum in 1746 in the same way that Min chu-erh had become chief of Seerkok? It would have been a fine political gesture for the emperor to ennoble the father of Tsong khapa, chief of the Yellow Church, in order to regain the sympathy of the lamas of the whole Yellow Sect whose group in Hsining he had punished so severely for their irresponsible behavior. It is probably a unique case in the history of Lamaist reincarnations that a layman then became reincarnated as a Living Buddha.

ERH-KU-LUNG

While Kumbum was outgrowing its infantile period, 175
there occurred the humble beginning of the monastery 792
of Erh-ku-lung (1604), on the northern side of the 346

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[74] Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistische Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, 109, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 1954.

[75] *Ibid.*, 110.

[76] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 2: 125. However, Tsampo Nomun-khan of Amdo writes about himself in his well-known Geographical work, 29: "North of Ssi ling is the great monastery of Gahdan Tam Chhoi ling (seat of lama Tsampo Nomun-khan) in ancient times called Amdo Gomang gonpa; at present known as Serkhang gonpa." Sarat Chandra Das adds: "The author is an incarnation of an eminent lama named Tag tse chove, who was invited to be the abbot of the monastery. There are 2,000 monks, many know the Tshan nid philosophy." The work of Tsampo has to be read cautiously. Before 1723 there were 2,000 lamas; at the time of his arrival Seerkok was destroyed. On pages 29 and 30 he gives the names of 18 monasteries built north of Erh-ku-lung and says: "The monasteries are mostly subordinate to the Kumbum and Tsampopa [himself] abbots, in consequence of which those under Je gampo and Phagden have been converted in Gelugpa institutions." However, these institutions had been founded by Erh-ku-lung and nine of them by Seerkok, which abbots had always belonged to the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect.

[p. 26(B)]

Hsining River in the main country of the Monguors. 175
Its Tibetan name is *dGon lung*. *"dGon"* means a her- 792
mitage, hence a monastery; *"lung"* means valley—the 346
hermitage of the valley. In Chinese literature it is called *Ku-lung;* the Chinese and Monguors call it *Erh-ku-lung*. It is situated at the entrance of a valley on the northern side of the T'u-Kuan Mountains. Erh-ku-lung is the mother monastery of all those situated north of the Hsining River. Its lamas in 1911 were mostly of Monguor origin, or Mongols from Mongolia, together with Tibetans of Huang-chung. Its administration was Monguor and its prominent Living Buddhas had always been reincarnations born in Kansu or Kukunor.

Legends

The origin of Erh-ku-lung is overlaid with legends. 792
The saying goes that during the Yüan period (1280- 539
1368) a Buddha appeared to a holy lama of the Saskya Sect, called Diasai, absorbed in profound meditation, and ordered him to build a monastery in Huang-chung on a site he designated. The next day the lama started his journey. He wandered many years in order to find the indicated site. Finally, he recognized it at Erh-ku-lung and the Monguors started building a hermitage. A handsome, very intelligent young man of Erh-ku-lung, called Sumpa, asked the lama to accept him as his apprentice and to instruct him. The happy holy man devoted his energy and marvelous ability to educating the young man. More young recruits arrived. The holy lama returned to Tibet with two of the most intelligent novices, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan. He entrusted the task of caring for the monastery in the meantime to the young Sumpa. The lama died in Tibet and the two novices, after brilliantly completing their studies in Tibet and writing learned books, returned to Erh-ku-lung, performed miracles, and died at the same time as Sumpa. All three were reincarnated and became the celebrated three Living Buddhas, who are the co-proprietors and chiefs of Erh-ku-lung.

At that time a lama of Erh-ku-lung, born in the neighborhood of Chie-bzan, enjoyed the reputation of holiness. After his death he was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung and was called the Living Buddha Chie-bzan. Another holy lama, born in Har-ch'in (Liao tung), called Wang, died and was reincarnated at Erh-ku-lung as the Living Buddha Wang. These two smaller incarnations, in conjunction with the three former incarnations who received the title of Hutukhtu from the emperor, constitute the board of the monastery, called "wu-ta-nang," which is still in existence. A residence was built by them for Diasai, the holy founder of the monastery, but the holy man failed to return from Tibet. At present, however, two lamas are still appointed to keep the home ready for the eventual return of the departed saint. They enjoy the nominal privilege

of receiving eighty shares at the time of distribution of 792
alms to the lamas. 539

A second legend explains in another way the origin of the monastery, and its peculiar administration by five Living Buddhas. One of the first Dalai Lamas lay dying on his bed in Lhasa from a terrible abscess on his thigh, which was greatly swollen. It would not yield to medical attention. Finally, the state oracle of Lhasa received in his trances notification that five Living Buddhas were confined in the tumor, and had to be released before the abscess would respond to medication. Lamas were sent all over the world to find an enormous sandalwood tree, recently uprooted by a big storm, in which the five Buddhas were confined. A whole army of lamas started in search of the life-saving tree. They eventually found it in the country of Erh-ku-lung. In the presence of an enormous crowd they started sawing the trunk of the fabulous sandalwood tree. Suddenly the teeth of the saw scratched on something which seemed hard as stone, and five statues of Buddhas escaped in the air. With the instinct of homing pigeons they fell on the very spot where a monastery was to be built. This is the origin of the temple and its "Wu-ta-nang." It is said the statues are locked in a closet in the temple, but no one is allowed to see them, the key being kept by the Chang-chia Hutukhtu.

History of the Lamasery

The origin of Erh-ku-lung seems, however, to have 175
been less miraculous. The construction of the mon- 792
astery started in 1604, after the Fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan (1598–1616), sent the lama, Don Yod Choskyi rgyamtso, from Lhasa to the region of Erh-ku-lung, to invite and encourage the people to build a lamasery.

The first great lama was Sumpa Danchos rgyamtso, born in Sumpa close to Erh-ku-lung.[77] He started with a small community, but attracted more and more novices. It was he who laid the foundation for the monastery.[78] Nothing more is known about this lama [79] except that twice he fulfilled the office of *Fa-t'ai* (see p. 61) of Erh-ku-lung, once in 1621 and again in 1649. These facts seem to support the supposition that the newly founded monastery soon flourished, all the more since a branch had been established at RGyud pagrva, the later monastery of Hsien mi-ssu, from the very beginning.[80] Two lamas, one called Chang-chia and the other T'u-kuan,[81] must have been members of the original community. Chang-chia died (1641?), and was reincarnated for the first time in 1642 near the end of the Ming dynasty, (1643) and became the first Chang-chia Living Buddha.[82] T'u-kuan, a lama born during the Ming dynasty, was chosen Fa-t'ai of Erh-ku-lung in 1672. He died and was reincarnated in 1680[83] and became the first T'u-kuan Living Buddha. 175 792

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[77] R. A. Stein, Mi-nag et Si-hia, *Bull. Ecole française d'Extrême Orient* 14: 253, 1951. Sumpa possibly originated from the ancient Tibetan (Mi-nag) Sumpa tribe, which had submitted to the king of Tibet. At the time of K'ri sron bde btsan (eighth century) the tribe had been appointed warden of the Sino-Tibetan frontiers of the country of Mi-nag.

[78] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45.

[79] *Idem* 3 (5): 19.

[80] *Idem* 3 (1): 45.

[81] Sarat Chandra Das, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* 1882: 1 and 5. In Tibet all great personages are called after the name of their birthplace, also sects; *Sa-Skya, Jonanpa, Shanpa, Digun*

LAMAISM AT THE END OF THE MING DYNASTY

At the very end of the Ming dynasty (1643), Ch'ü-t'an with more than 600 lamas, having branches with more than 350 lamas, was the leading monastery of Huang-chung. Kumbum began in 1560, and in 1644 was still in its period of development. Nothing is known about Sha-ch'ung, though it must still have existed. The hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, founded in 1604, had developed very fast. It had a Living Buddha boy, the Chang-chia, born in 1642. It expanded rapidly and founded hermitages for its lamas, which must have been numerous. Several Nang-suos, Karwas, and Master in Dhyana institutions existed in the country. Domains were given to many lamas who had induced Tibetans to submit to the empire. A small temple may have been built by them, and probably a few small groups of wandering lamas existed all over the country. This seems to have been the situation of Lamaism in Huang-chung at the end of the Ming dynasty.

DIFFUSION OF LAMAISM DURING THE CH'ING DYNASTY (1644–1911)

GENERAL POLICY OF THE CH'ING

The Ch'ing dynasty continued the policy of the Ming, protecting and promoting Lamaism. Its first act was to recognize the *status quo* of Tibet which emerged after conquest by the Ölöts during the troubled period preceding its accession to power. The Ch'ing dynasty, engaged in a terrible struggle with the western Mongols, the Jungars, which lasted for more than a century, from the middle of the seventeenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century, understood the need for a pro-Lamaist policy. Lamaism had a firm hold on the western Mongols as well as on the eastern Mongols and in Tibet. The struggle was so fierce as to induce Maurice Courant to include in the title of his book *L'Asie centrale aux XVIIme et XVIIIme siècles*, the question, *"Empire kalmouk ou empire mantchou?"*[84] It is easy to understand that in such conditions the favorable disposition of Tibet toward the dynasty would 175 648

Pa are designated after the names of localities where they were taught and originated. *Karmapa*, *Bulugpa*, were taken from the names of their respective teachers. *Kahdampa*, *Dso-gchyenpa*, *Chhyay Chhempa*, and *Shi chhyepa* were named after their respective rituals and external *Kriya*.

[82] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4) : 12.

[83] *Idem* 3 (5) : 12.

[84] *Annales de l'université de Lyon*, n.s., 2, fasc. 24, Lyon, 1912.

be an immense asset for its policy in Central Asia and in the neighboring countries of China.[85] 175 648

LAMAISM DIFFUSED BY MONGUOR LAMAS OF EHR-KU-LUNG

During the Ch'ing dynasty, Lamaism reached its highest level of influence and power. Four Living Buddhas dominated this period: (1) the Dalai Lama, (2) the Panchen Lama, (3) the rJe-btsun dam-pa of Urga, and (4) the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the Monguor of Erh-ku-lung. The Chang-chia reincarnations were towering personalities. During this period they dominated the Lamaist world of Mongolia, Peking, and Huang-chung, and wielded an important influence in Tibet. 175 792

Next to Chang-chia came the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu and the great Sumpa, as celebrated as Chang-chia for their science, learned works and influence at court. Later on, Min-chu-erh, known as Tsanpo Nomun khan,[86] a learned man and chief of the monastery of Seerkok, an old branch of Erh-ku-lung, followed in the wake of the three preceding Hutukhtus. If the names of the chiefs of the celebrated monastery of Labrang, founded in 1708, who were intimately connected with T'u-kuan, and who obtained imperial favors for them and the title of *Erdeni Nomun han* (Huth, p. 332) are added to the glittering list of prominent personalities of Erh-ku-lung, one is not amazed to read in the relations of the Franciscan Fathers written in 1730 in Tibet:

> In my time nearly all the lecturers and lamas of the universities, masters of the Supreme Lama and of the Grand Lamas, who have been born again, came from Amdo, a province from which they do not draw soldiers, (p. 313). . . . Tibetans are generally intelligent, although not equal to the people of the state of Amdo, who are extremely quick (p. 218).[87]

Without a doubt the monastery of Erh-ku-lung profited by the names of its prominent and learned chiefs and lamas. For a long time it surpassed all the other monasteries of Huang-chung. The number of its lamas reached 2,500 in 1723. Its prodigious activity was responsible for the foundation of all the monasteries north of the Hsining River. Since Lamaism, among the Monguors and their clan chiefs, is intimately connected with the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, whose Living Buddhas were mostly born in their country, it is necessary to study Lamaism among them, in the atmosphere of their beloved monastery. In order to gain an insight into the tremendous influence exerted by the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in the Lamaist world, the three personalities who are keystones of its institutions, will be briefly described. 175 792

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[85] Schram, *op. cit.*, 36, 37.

[86] *Nom-un khan*—"King of the Law." This title was given for the first time to Gushi. See Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 92, note 45, Princeton, N. J., 1951.

[87] Clement R. Markham, *Narratives of the mission of G. Bogle to Tibet*, App. 309, London, 1876; also *Brief account of the Kingdom of Tibet* by Fra Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, Klaproth, 1730, from the autograph manuscript of the author.

Chang-chia Hutukhtu

In 1642 a boy was born in the village of I-k'o. He was recognized as the reincarnation of a lama of Erh-ku-lung born into the Chang family (hence his name *Chang-chia*) in the Hung nai Valley, sixty *li* northeast of Hsining.[88] He started his religious career at the age of five at the small hermitage belonging to Erh-ku-lung called T'an rim tarpa. He entered the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in 1651. In 1661 he was sent by Sumpa to Tibet where he studied for twenty years in the most celebrated colleges, knitting friendly relations with the most renowned lamas of Tibet, and teaching and preaching in the colleges. He returned to Erh-ku-lung. In 1682 his beloved teacher, the great lama of Galdan, was invited by the emperor to Peking. Chang-chia, having scored successes in Tibet, seething with ambition, and eager to rub elbows with the rich and the great of the world, hurried off to meet his teacher in Kukunor. He obtained permission from his teacher to follow him on his trip to Peking as a "humble member of his retinue" (Huth, 276). In Peking the teacher recommended his learned pupil to the emperor.[89]

After being chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1687, [554] the emperor called him to Peking in 1693. Sumpa, leading a big retinue, brought him to the capital. The

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[88] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4) : 4.

[89] Ting Chih-ts'un, Li tai Chang-chia Hutukhtu, *Pien-cheng kung-lün* 6 (4) : 4, 1947. Much confusion has existed concerning the origin of the Chang-chia reincarnation. Mayers, *Chinese government*, Hong Kong, Kelly & Walsh, 1896, 3rd ed., No. 598 says: "The metropolitan Chang-chia, re-embodiment of a Hutukhtu, dispatched under the same title, to represent him near the Chinese court toward the close of the 17th century, by the Dalai Lama of that period, received with profound respect by K'anghsi, was assigned a residence at Dolon nor; by decree of Ch'ienlung, the successor of the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, removed his residence from Dolon nor to the Yung-ho-kung, where state services were performed under direction of the Metropolitan who it is said wielded supreme religious sway."

Baron A. von-Stael-Holstein, Remarks on an XVIIIth century Lamaist document, Kuo-hsueh chi-k'an, 401, 1923, says: "K'ang hsi invited the 5th Dalai Lama to Peking, who refused, and Nag-dban blo-bzan cos-ldan (Chang-chia XIV) took the Dalai's place. He is supposed to be the incarnation of Mkhyen-rab-grags-pa hodzer, born in Chang-chia village, Kansu-Kukunor, hence the name Chang-chia."

Walter Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos*, **48**: 499, 1953: says that according to a Mongol source the 5th Dalai Lama sent a lama, Che-sen Chorji to the Manchu emperor T'ai-tsung, with letters and presents. He was delegate to the city of Mukden in 1637. T'ai-tsung appointed the lama envoy to be his own chaplain, praising him as Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Heissig notes (note 132, p. 500) that the Mongol text about the appointment of the envoy as Chang-chia is wrong, because Chang-chia came first to the Manchu court at Peking in 1687.

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emperor appointed him to the office of Jassak Great 175
Lama, the highest office entrusted to lamas in Peking; 792
he bestowed on him the dignity and diploma of Hutukhtu, and a golden seal, together with the eulogistic title, "entirely virtuous, vastly compassionate, great state teacher, one whose head is annointed."[90] He was vested with powers of spiritual control over the Mongols of Chahar.

The bolt of fame had struck the ambitious Chang-chia. Inner Mongolian, and Khalkha princes and nobles gathered at Dolon nor to adore the great living Buddha.

In 1696–1697, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu, already 175
raised to a high pitch of fame in Mongolia and Peking, 792
was delegated by the emperor to go to Lhasa to bring 648
to the recently enthroned sixth Dalai Lama a seal and 554
diploma, and to convey imperial gifts to the Panchen and the chief lamas of the most important monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends. This diplomatic mission immensely enhanced the prestige of Chang-chia in the Lamaist world of Tibet. Back in Peking, he was showered with gifts by the emperor.

In 1709, when he was on a vacation in Erh-ku-lung, the Monguors, exulting with pride, had a feeling for him that was a little short of idolatrous. He reformed the program of studies at Erh-ku-lung and appointed eminent teachers. It is not amazing that the lamas dreamed up an illustrious pedigree for their distinguished Hutukhtu, the favorite of the emperor and idol of the people, and that they imagined thirteen reincarnations preceding the reigning one. The first was no less than Chan dana, a contemporary and disciple of the Buddha himself. As for these thirteen fabulous reincarnations, it is enough to say that the so-called thirteenth rebirth was that of a boy born in Chang-chia village, who became a simple lama and about whom nothing more is known. During the administration of Sumpa he was a simple lama at Erh-ku-lung. After his death a boy born in I-k'o in 1642 was considered to be his reincarnation and consequently was called the fourteenth Chang-chia. This "fourteenth reincarnation," actually the first, recommended by his teacher to the emperor, was the lucky founder of the glorious series.

Chang-chia Rolpa dorje, the fifteenth reincarnation (1717–1786), in fact the second, was brought to Peking at the age of seven. Considered as a miracle child endowed with an illustrious pedigree, he was the playmate and intimate friend of the imperial princes. In 1734, at the age of seventeen, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Szech' uan (mGar t'ar), with an order to accompany, as imperial envoy, the banished seventh Dalai Lama on his reinstallation in Lhasa. (The Dalai Lama had been banished in 1728.[91]) This second diplomatic mission surrounded the Chang-chia

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[90] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, ti* 5 *p'ien*, 93.

[91] Petech, *op. cit.*, 157.

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reincarnations with an aura of glory. At Lhasa the 175
lamas paid enthusiastic adoration to him. Their devotion 792
went so far as to make them struggle and compete 648
for the drinking of a draught of the water Chang- 554
chia had used for his toilet.[92] Back in Peking, Changchia [778]
asked the emperor to return to the Dalai Lama the confiscated districts of Lit'ang and Batang, and to grant him a subsidy. Only a subsidy of 5,000 taels was allowed.[93]

Rolpa dorje was also a learned man. His appointment [814]
by the emperor as chief of the commission for the revision of the translation into Mongol of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*,[94] enhanced his prestige in the learned world, even as his learned works were studied in the colleges of Tibet, Mongolia, and Huang-chung (Huth, 291). In 1725 the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama received imperial envoys, presenting them with a complete set of the *Kanjur*, together with its supplements, and the complete works of Tsong khapa and the first Chang-chia Hutukhtu.[95]

The Monguor Chang-chia Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung, conspicuous for their great abilities, extensive learning, high position at the Peking court, and former diplomatic missions, wielded an enormous influence in the highest Lamaist circles in Tibet. The appointment by the emperor of the regent Gyal ts'ab in Tibet, during the reign of the eighth Dalai Lama (1759–1804) was obtained by the influence of the Chang-chia II.[96] The influence which the Panchen Lama exercised over the temporal affairs of Tibet and the interest he enjoyed at the Peking court through his friend, Chang-chia, the lama primate, made the emperor, Ch'ien-lung, invite him to Peking, where he arrived in 1780 and died of smallpox.[97]

George Bogle in 1774–1775 was trying to get an 175
agreement from the well-disposed Panchen Lama for 648
Indian trade with Tibet. Even more important than 792
the Panchen's promise to send envoys was his assurance to Bogle that he had written the Grand Lama at Peking, who had great influence with the emperor, informing him that the English were now masters of Bengal, that

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[92] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.*, 99.

[93] Petech, *op. cit.*, 162.

[94] Walter Heissig, Die Mongolischen Publication und Ubersetzungs Wesen der Mandjuzeit, *Sinologica* 3 (3): 205, 1953. Translations of Vols. 1 to 22 of the *Kanjur* by learned Mongol lamas already existed at the time of Ligdan Khan 1604–1634; the translation of 1717–1720 is almost textually the same as the former. The duty of Chang-chia, head of the committee, consisted in supervising the dogmatical genuineness of the translation. The Mongol translation of Dharani was published in 1759. More than 200 translations of Tibetan works still exist in Mongol.

[95] Petech, *op. cit.*, 9. One of the works of the second Chang-chia Hutukhtu is known in Europe through the translation of Eugen Pander, *Das Pantheon des Tschang tscha Hutukhtu*, Berlin, 1890.

[96] Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 46.

[97] *Ibid.*, 47. Schuyler Cammann, The Panchen Lama's visit to China in 1780, *Far Eastern Quart.* 9 (1): 6–18, 1949.

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Hastings, their chief, had shown him great favor, and 775
that the English allowed everyone to follow his re- 648
ligion unmolested. He closed with the suggestion that 792
the Grand Lama send some people from China to call on Hastings and to visit the principal temples of Bengal.[98] An interesting note encountered in Gunther Schuleman's work tells that the Chang-chia Hutukhtu asked the emperor to allow the Cossacks, prisoners of war interned in a camp at Albazin on the Amur, to invite a priest or pope, and to build a chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas.[99]

The subsequent Chang-chia incarnations until the present one, the nineteenth, enjoyed the same position of eminence, privileges, and titles in Peking under the Empire and the Republic. At the beginning of the Republic, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu was sent to Mongolia to exhort the princes to recognize the newly founded Republic. He was nominated honorary president of the Committee of Mongol and Tibetan Affairs.[100] All these facts seem to bear out the assertion that the Chang-chia Hutukhtus of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung were towering personalities in the Lamaist world during the Ch'ing dynasty and under the Republic, and that they enhanced the prestige of Lamaism among the Monguors and the Tibetans of Huang-chung. When the Chinese Government fled to Formosa for fear of the Communists, the Chang-chia Hutukhtu accompanied it, and at present is living there.[101]

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[98] Schuyler Cammann, *Trade through the Himalayas*, 49.

[99] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 178.

[100] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih*, *op. cit.*, 11. von Stael-Holstein, *op. cit.*, 401, says: "During the Republic the titles of Chang-chia on his visiting card, support the evidence of the high favors bestowed upon him, 'High class adviser at the president's office; inspector of the Lamaist religious establishments in Peking, Inner Mongolia, Chahar, Wü-T'ai-Shan, Jehol, and Dolon nor,' " 1923.

[101] After completing the present study, I had the opportunity to read a most valuable work by Professor Walter Heissig, *Die Pekinger Lamaistischen Blockdrucke in Mongolischer Sprache*, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden, 1954. It contains many complementary data concerning the Chang-chia incarnations, and their literary productions, excerpted from Mongol and Tibetan sources, making it possible to complement the information drawn from Chinese sources.

Chang-chia I (1642–1714), by order of Emperor Sheng tsu (K'ang-hsi period 1662–1722) came to Peking in 1693 with an imposing array of fifteen lama scholars, headed by Sumpa, chief of Erh-ku-lung. The emperor granted Sumpa the title of Jassak lama. (At that time Sumpa must have been Sumpa II, a minor Living Buddha.) Each of the fifteen other lamas was granted the title of Sula Blama. Chang-chia asked the emperor for this title as a favor to Sumpa (18). Chang-chia supervised the revision of the Kanjur (19), which had already been started in 1604–1634 by 40 scholars. He was ordered to instruct the Khalkha lamas in Dolon nor and the Mongol princes who attended his lectures, so he wielded a great influence among the princes and lamas in Mongolia (p. 20). In 1710 the emperor contributed to the foundation of the Tantra college in Erh-ku-lung (p. 28). Chang-chia I, a prolific author, died in 1714. The complete works of Chang-chia, written in Tibetan, were translated into Mongol and published in seven volumes in Peking in 1720 (pp. 58, 59). In 1729 there was published in

T'u-kuan Hutukhtu

At the time when Chang-chia was at the height of 175
his glory, T'u-kuan, another eminent Monguor lama 792
of Erh-ku-lung, was on the way to becoming his equal. With Sumpa and Chang-chia he was considered the

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Peking a biography of Chang-chia which had been translated into Mongol, in four volumes, by one of his most intimate pupils (p. 63).

Chang-chia II (1717–1786) was still a boy, living in Huang chung, at the time of the revolt of the lamas (1723). The emperor, in order to save the life of the new Chang-chia incarnation, forbade the army commanders to kill boys under fifteen years of age. Chang-chia was brought to Peking at the age of nine (1724). He studied Chinese, Mongol, Manchu, etc., with the son of the emperor, the future emperor Kao tsung (Ch'ien lung period, 1736–1796), and the twelfth prince, who became his friends (64). In the friendship which existed between Chang-chia, the future emperor, and the Manchu prince lies the explanation for the tremendous influence wielded by Chang-chia in Mongolia and Tibet. It also explains the prodigious activity displayed by the board for the translation of Tibetan [814] books and the printing of Mongol books, of which Chang-chia was the chief. The Mongol lamas were elated by the publication of lamaist literature in Mongol, and the Mongol princes offered donations for its printing. Under the leadership of Chang-chia II, 99 lamaist works were printed in Mongol in Peking (p. 72). Chang-chia used his influence to change the trend of thinking of Mongol lamas, who were very fond of writing biographies of saints according to the pattern of the Geser epos (of Tibetan origin). He did not even allow the lamas to read or preserve the epos. It had not been reprinted in Peking since 1716 (87). However, he promoted the fusion (already started during the K'ang hsi period, p. 36) of the legendary Geser with Kuan ti, the Chinese god of war, and also their cult, making of them protectors of the country, to be worshipped by the Chinese military officials (p. 148). Chang-chia laid stress on the production of works in the dogmatic line (p. 106). The revision of the Kanjur was finished in 1720 (during the boyhood of Chang-chia II). From 1741 on, Chang-chia II, with a strong group of scholars, prepared the revision of the Tanjur which was finished in 1749 (p. 85). In 1780 the Panchen Lama attending the celebration of the seventieth birthday of the emperor in Jehol, composed a biography and eulogy in Tibetan of the fifteenth preexistences of Chang-chia II. It was translated into Mongol and was very popular in Mongolia and Tibet (p. 142), as was the biography of Chang-chia I, written by T'u-kuan Hutukhtu I (1737–1802) (p. 158).

The prodigious literary activity displayed during the lives of both Chang-chia I and II seems to have been notably reduced from the time of Chang-chia III on (1789–1846). In the meantime the Emperor Kao tsung, personal friend and protector of Chang-chia II died (1795); the Mongol princes had become less interested in offerings for the printing of books, and only a few lamas of Alashan continued to indulge in literary productions (165). In Heissig, not a name of a single [814] author of Kumbum is noted during or after the period of this prodigious literary activity. Only ten new productions are noted during the nineteenth century, together with a few reprints of former books (p. 159). After the death of Chang-chia III (1846) his biography was written, starting with those of his previous existences (p. 168). Heissig notes that he does not understand why, in the historical sketch of the life of Chang-chia I, the biography of Chang-chia I written by T'u-kuan I of Erh-ku-lung is omitted (p. 167). He wonders also why the famous *History of the diffusion of Lamaism in Mongolia* written by T'u-kuan II was not printed in Peking (p. 3) during the time Chang-chia II was the chief of the imperial committee. The explanation for these pertinent questions will be

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co-proprietor and chief of Erh-ku-lung. The figures 175
of these three men throw a lengthening shadow over 792
the glorious monastery of Erh-ku-lung, and over the Lamaist world in Tibet, Mongolia, Peking, and Huangchung, during the Ch'ing dynasty.

A boy born in T'u-kuan, located at the foot of the T'u-kuan Mountains close to Erh-ku-lung, became a lama at the former hermitage of Erh-ku-lung, which had rapidly grown under the administration of Sumpa. The boy was born in the Wang chia tribe, subject to the Li T'u-ssu, and is said to have belonged to the Li T'u-ssu clan. It is also told that he was born in the Sina tribe in the Ch'ing-yang-ch'uan, in the village of T'u-kuan. The date of his birth is not recorded. However, it is noted that he fulfilled the office of Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1672, at the time when Chang-chia was studying at Lhasa.[102]

A boy born in 1680 was said to be the reincarnation [775]
of this T'u-kuan Lama and was called the Living Buddha T'u-kuan Nag dban C'osky rgyamts'o. The series of the T'u-kuan reincarnations started with him. Upon completing his studies in Tibet, he was chosen Fa-t'ai at Erh-ku-lung in 1705. He founded a hermitage at C'os bzan, where he lived in retired seclusion with seven lamas, meditating and teaching.[103] He was the teacher of the young fifteenth Chang-chia incarnation and the famous Sumpa. He became the equal of Chang- [534]
chia when the Emperor K'ang Hsi called him to Peking in 1715, and bestowed on him gifts, the title of Hutukhtu and a seal. He enjoyed the high esteem of the emperor who, in 1719, ordered the lama, Skal-bzan rgya-mts'o, administrator of Kumbum, to invite T'u-kuan Hutukhtu in order to have him administer his monastery.[104] (Something wrong may have happened at Kumbum.)

In 1720 the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu was sent on a dip- 175
lomatic mission to greet the seventh Dalai Lama on the 792
upper reaches of the Yangtse River on his way to 648
Lhasa.[105] The Dalai Lama had been confined at Kumbum for five years. He was brought to Lhasa with a display of pomp and magnificence. T'u-kuan, in his capacity of imperial envoy, was granted the title of Hutukhtu, the highest imperial distinction for lamas. He assisted at the enthusiastic enthronement of the Dalai Lama and brought letters and imperial gifts to

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provided by the subsequent troubled history of Erh-ku-lung (see below, p. 36).

Summarizing the literary activities of the Chang-chia incarnations, as chiefs of the imperial committee for the printing of Mongol books in Peking, they had printed in Mongol, during a period of 261 years (1650–1911), 108 volumes of the Kanjur, 226 of the Tanjur and 220 other works (2).

These facts afford conclusive evidence of the very important role played by the Monguor Hutukhtus of Erh-ku-lung in the diffusion of Lamaism in their own country, and in Peking, Mongolia and Tibet.

[102] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12.

[103] Huth, *op. cit.*, 283.

[104] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 15.

[105] Petech, *op. cit.*, 60.

[p. 31 (B)]

the Panchen Lama and the heads of the most important 175 monasteries of Tibet, his former teachers and friends.[106] 792 He enjoyed a tremendous surge of popularity in Tibet 648 and was honored in the same way as Chang-chia. [554]

The fame of Erh-ku-lung thus rose higher and higher. In Huang-chung the Monguors were elated and proud of their glorious monastery and their eminent lamas. Back in Dolon nor, the Mongol and Khalkha princes paid him their adoration with the same devotion they had given to Chang-chia. The T'u-kuan Hutukhtu received new titles from the emperor and was showered with favors. A permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He obtained for the Great Lama of the monastery of Labrang the title of Erdeni Nomun khan.[107] While on vacation at Erh-ku-lung, he died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri which belonged to Erh-ku-lung.

His next incarnation was T'u-kuan Blo-bzan C'oskyi Nima, born in 1737. He was a celebrated teacher, well known in the Lamaist world for his proficiency in logic and philosophy. He wrote his famous *History of the Doctrines of the Yellow Sects,* which he finished a year before his death in 1802. According to Baradijn, this [114] work, in twelve chapters, is the only Tibetan study dealing with all the Tibetan sects, including those of India, China, and the old Bön.[108] He received from the emperor the same titles as his predecessor and was granted the same favors and the same permanent duty at Peking. In 1790 he built the temple of Hung-ku-ssu, to which the emperor granted the name of Yen-hsi-ssu.[109] He died in 1802. The subsequent incarnations followed in the steps of their predecessors, enjoying the same titles and privileges during the Empire and under the Republic.

Sumpa Hutukhtu

Sumpa Hutukhtu is so called by Sarat Chandra Dass, 175 the celebrated historiographer and chronologist of Tibet. 792 Born in 1704, he is said to be the first reincarnation of the founder of Erh-ku-lung. However, because Erh-ku-lung was founded in 1604, the first Sumpa was supposed to have been a man about twenty or thirty years of age. So it would seem that a second Sumpa was intercalated between them. Sumpa II must have been the reincarnation of Sumpa I; otherwise the denomination of Sumpa is hard to explain. This supposition does not seem to be unusual if we take account of the process used for the first reincarnations of Chang-chia and T'u-kuan, and the obsession for reincarnations which was in full swing at that time. Sumpa II must have been one of the countless so-called "minor" Living Buddhas who were not listed on the register of Buddhas in Peking, and to whom the title of Hutukhtu had not been granted, but only the title of Jassak Lama. In the same way the minor Living Buddha Sumpa II must have headed the big retinue which brought the "minor" Living Buddha Chang-chia to Peking in 1693, who, only after his arrival at Peking, received his title and became the great Chang-chia Hutukhtu. Until that time Sumpa II, Chang-chia, and T'u-kuan were all "minor" Living Buddhas, living at Erh-ku-lung.

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[106] Huth, *op. cit.,* 283; Schuleman, *op. cit.,* 178–9.

[107] Huth, *op. cit.,* 287.

[108] Filchner, *op. cit.,* 442, Notes 655 and 656, p. 182. The work has been translated by Sarat Chandra Dass in his Contributions on the religion and history, etc. of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal* 50 and 51, 1881–1882. I was surprised to read in it much data about Taoism and Confucianism with which he was very well acquainted.

[109] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (5) : 12; *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.,* 148–149.

[p.32(A)]

Sumpa III, still a minor Living Buddha, underwent a stiff course of instruction at Erh-ku-lung, under the direction of the celebrated T'u-kuan, after which he was sent for further study to Tibet. The young Sumpa must have been a very intelligent and studious pupil, for in 1726 he had already been appointed mK'ampo of the very celebrated SGoman College in aBras-spuns.[110] At the same time he must have been an unusually strong personality, a man of solidly set opinions, a special individual, a law unto himself, stern and uncompromising, for, in the teeth of strong opposition on the part of the lamas when civil war violently agitated the country, he ordered his lamas to keep quiet and to keep the strictest neutrality because, according to the principles of Buddhism, it is not allowed for anyone, particularly the lamas, to fight and kill.[111] The example was followed by the other monasteries.

Back in Huang-chung in 1730, he founded the mon- [376]
astery of Bshad-sgrab with eighty lamas, and admitted fifteen more from the monastery (hermitage) of Bsam gtang. He was called to Peking in 1737, and appointed by the emperor as spiritual guide of all the princes and chiefs of Mongolia. His prestige in Peking and Mongolia and the consideration the emperor had for him were extraordinary. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu, but he declined the offer, objecting that it was only fit for religious men aspiring to worldly glory. The amazed emperor answered, "You are a genuine religious man." In Peking he revised all the Tibetan books existent in China, and was rewarded by the emperor with the title of Erdeni Pandita.

In 1745 he was appointed the head of Erh-ku-lung. There, his first step was to scale down the splendor of his environment and to simplify his retinue. Sumpa was a learned man. He wrote the famous *History of the Rise and Downfall of Buddhism in India and Tibet.*[112]

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[110] Petech, *op. cit.*, 121.

[111] *Ibid.*

[112] Sarat Chandra Dass, Contribution to the history and religion of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, **58**, 1889. This study is preceded by the translation of the biography of Sumpa.

Tucci, *op. cit.* **1**: 147, after giving the content of the work of Sumpa, concludes: ". . . the work is composed with a wise and discriminating choice of older sources, pointing out for

The Monguor Sumpa was a prolific author, who 175
wrote about all the important subjects related to the 792
curriculum of the studies of lamas. In the official records in Peking, preserved in the Li-fan-Yüan (1793), concerning the subsequent reincarnations of Sumpa, it is said they are indistinct and vague; that maybe they are recorded in Lhasa at the office of the Dalai Lama.[113]

The two Living Buddhas, Chie bzan and Wang, members of the board of five of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung, led a sheltered life in their residences and nothing is recorded concerning them.

SUBSIDIARY LAMASERIES FOUNDED BY ERH-KU-LUNG

The influence exerted upon the country of Huang- 175
chung, and especially upon the country north of the 771
Hsining River, by the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and 792
its three celebrated personalities was tremendous. The whole country, void of monasteries before 1600, became dotted with institutions of the Yellow Sect, depending on Erh-ku-lung. This unusual fervor for the diffusion of Lamaism seems to account for the disappearance of nearly all the small institutions of the Red Sect in that country, and their absorption into the fold of the Yellow Sect. The forces of expansion radiating from Ch'ü-t'an, Sha-ch'ung, and Kumbum situated south of the Hsining River, never before 1723 matched those radiating from Erh-ku-lung. The reason might be the lack of celebrated, learned, influential monks enjoying the favors of the emperors. This seems to account for the fact that at present a number of small Red communities and two important monasteries of the Red Sect still exist in the country south of the Hsining River.

Sumpa Damchos, the first administrator of Erh-ku- 175
lung, must have been a very capable and intelligent 792
man, devoted to the diffusion of Lamaism. He built his monastery on a solid foundation to prepare learned and pious men. He sent the best of his novices to Tibet to study, and organized studies at home. In the very beginning (1604) he founded the hermitage of Rgyud pagrva,[114] the monastery of Hsien-mi-ssu. In 1915 it was inhabited by 4 Living Buddhas and 160 lamas; it also established two colleges. He founded the hermitage of T'an-rim tarpa, where the young Chang-chia, at the age of five, started his religious life.[115] In 1651, when Chang-chia and T'u-kuan were still children, he sent the vice-administrator of Erh-ku-lung, Dongrub rgyamat'so, of Mongol origin, to Ta-

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each subject the main works. He intended to write an encyclopedia from which an idea could be had of the formation and spread of Buddhist thought. . . . It is a rich encyclopedia; harmonious composition is missing. Its value: it purports to be a *summa* of Tibetan historical traditions in which chronicles, myths, saints' lives, political changes, religious doctrines are met, in whose harmony the fortunes of the sacred doctrine of Tsung khapa become a reality and are developed."

[113] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (4): 16.

[114] *Idem* 1: 45.

[115] Huth, *op. cit.*, 272.

[p. 33(A)]

175 792 t'ung wei, in order to build the later famous monastery of Seerkok, Gadan Ch'osling, also called Kou-mang-ssu, and Kuang-hui-ssu.[116]

The new daughter monastery flourished so fast as to have, before the revolt of 1723, two thousand lamas, and three colleges, among which the Tch'an-ñjid College was very renowned. Probably very soon Seerkok became an autonomous monastery. It developed to such an extent as to administer nine branches of its own and to have eighteen Living Buddhas within its walls.

[554] Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, the head of the lamasery, celebrated for his *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia,* is known as the Tsanpo Nomun-khan of Amdo.[117] In 1727 he was sent by the Dalai Lama to court and received from the emperor the title of Hutukhtu. He was showered with gifts and a permanent duty was assigned to him at Peking. He became one of the great Living Buddhas of Huang-chung.[118]

In 1693 the hermitage of Byan-c'ub existed, dependent on Erh-ku-lung. It was here that Chang-chia retired.[119] In 1705 T'u-kuan established the hermitage of C'os bzan where he retired with seven lamas.[120] He died in 1735 at the hermitage of Rgyab-ri, also dependent on Erh-ku-lung.[121] In 1711 the learned lama, Zabsdrun of Temma, near Erh-ku-lung, having been appointed teacher by Chang-chia[122] at the College of Tantras in Erh-ku-lung, founded a branch in Kan-ch'an-ssu which in 1915, had two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas.

In 1730 the Great Sumpa, on his return from Tibet, immediately founded the monastery of Bshad sgrub with eighty lamas and fifteen from Bsam gtang glin.[123] From 1604 until 1730 the building of hermitages and bigger monasteries was a real obsession among the prominent lamas and chiefs of the monastery of Erh-ku-lung and its branches. The records of the havoc wrought during the crushing revolt of 1723 by the Chinese army reveal more names of sacked and destroyed monasteries: Chie-Bzan with eight hundred lamas, the monasteries of Hsia, Yao, Ku, Chu-erh, Kan-chu-erh, and more than one thousand grottoes in the mountains; also the monastery of Shih-men-ssu with two hundred lamas and two Living Buddhas; Ch'i-chia-ssu with two subsidiaries[124]; T'ien T'ang-ssu with two hundred lamas, three Living Buddhas,

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[116] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 45: 3 (4) 10; 5: 13*a*.

[117] Sarat Chandra Dass, Brief account of Tibet, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* 1 and 27, 1887. This work was translated into Russian in 1895.

[118] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih, op. cit.,* 123.

[119] Huth, *op. cit.* 277.

[120] *Ibid.,* 283.

[121] *Ibid.,* 288.

[122] *Ibid.,* 279.

[123] Sarat Chandra Dass, Life of Sumpa khampo, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal,* 198, 1889.

[124] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46*b* and 47*a*.

three colleges, and Chiar-too-ssu. Forty lamaseries es- 175
tablished north of the Hsining River and in the pre- 792
fectures of P'ing fan, Liang-chou, Kan-chou and Su-chou, originated from Erh-ku-lung or its subsidiaries and were built between 1604 and 1723.

The prodigious activity in Huang-chung and the flourishing of the monasteries are, beyond doubt, indebted to the position of eminence enjoyed at court by the three learned Monguor lamas and their reincarnations, and to the initial impulse given to Erh-ku-lung by its first Sumpas. Not only Huang-chung, but the whole Yellow Church derived benefits from the zeal of these fervent Monguors. Their influence was also tremendous upon the chiefs of Outer and Inner Mongolia. In Mongolia the fervor of the converted old adherents of the Red Sect to the Yellow Sect can be ascribed in great part to the influence of the Monguor lamas appointed by the emperor as their spiritual guides. This fact also accounts for the large number of Mongol lamas living in the monasteries of Huang-chung. The Mongol monasteries are also indebted to them for the development and organization of their studies on a serious basis. Their learned books were among those used in the Mongol colleges. Most of their teachers had been pupils of these eminent lamas who had studied at Erh-ku-lung, noted as the highest center of learning at that time. Back in their country they vied in building monasteries.[128]

> The position of these learned scholars in Peking and the [212]
> patronage of the Manchu emperors contributed to the development of that copious production, of encyclopedic and compilatory character, which marks the 18th century in Tibetan literary history.[129]

REVOLT OF BLO-BZAN BSTAN-DSIN AND THE LAMAS

The year 1723 marks a turning point in the history 175
of Lamaism in Huang-chung, and ends with one of 771
those tragedies with which history is replete. At the time, Lamaism rode the crest of the wave of glory and success, monasteries and their affiliates dotted the country of Hsining, especially north of the river and far into the Nan-shan. The number of lamas was countless, the people paid enthusiastic adoration to their Living Buddhas. Each family offered one or more of its sons to the service of Buddha. Emperor K'ang-hsi (1662-1722) lavishly bestowed his favors upon Huang-chung, promoting Chang-chia to be the first lama in rank in Peking, and T'u-kuan to be the second. He invested them with diplomatic missions in Tibet and promoted them as the spiritual guides of the Mongol princes.

The country was at peace and the future filled with 175
the greatest promise, when suddenly, like a colossus 579
on feet of clay, the luxurious Lamaist institution crum- 771
bled and collapsed. The lamasery of Erh-ku-lung with

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[128] Huth, *op. cit.*, 372-374.

[129] Petech, *op. cit.*, 242.

[p. 34(A)]

its 2,500 lamas, from which had radiated a prodigious 175
force of expansion for 120 years, had all its temples, 579
stupas, and homes of lamas burned to the ground; 17 771
villages and 7,000 houses were destroyed. Full scale fighting erupted between the lamas and the subjects of the monastery, against the emperor's army; 6,000 were killed. At Seerkok, the branch of Erh-ku-lung having 2,000 lamas, not a single temple, stupa, or home was left; 700 lamas and 2,000 of its fighting subjects were killed. The chief of the monastery, Chie-bzan Rimpoche, was beheaded. Ch'i-chia-ssu, with its two branches, was leveled to the ground; 500 fighting lamas and 1,000 subjects were killed. The monastery of Chie-bzan vanished in flames; 800 lamas perished or fled. The monastery of Shih-men, a center of revolt, disappeared in a blaze and 700 fighting lamas and subjects were killed. All the lamaseries and important branches situated north of the river were completely ruined; their lamas were either killed or they had fled. At the monastery of Kumbum 300 lamas were beheaded, fled, or were killed. All the temples and homes of lamas were burned, except the head temple.

Nien Keng-yao, commanding the imperial army, said that because of the furious armed resistance displayed by the lamas he had to punish them.[127] The head of the monastery, the mK'ampo, surrendered. The Chinese general informed the emperor about his prisoner. He suggested that by no means should clemency be shown toward him, for he had been the cause of all the trouble, stirring the lamas and the people to revolt. Since nothing more is said about him in the *Shih-lu*, the *Tung-hua-lu* or the *Sheng-wu-chi*, it can be supposed that he was beheaded.[128] During the revolt, two more prominent Living Buddhas were beheaded, Temma grutchen and Nga-ch'i T'u-men-han.[129]

Nothing is recorded about the famous monastery of [772]
Ch'ü-t'an, and I have found it impossible to get any information whether or not it participated in the troubles. Lamas like to keep secret in their fold this dishonorable page of their history. This sudden disaster, which ruined all the institutions of Lamaism in Huang-chung, had more far-reaching harmful consequences in the future, from which Lamaism never recovered.

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[127] *Shih-lu, Yung-cheng*, ts'e 145, Chüan 14, 10.

[128] These facts are far from the legend as spread by Filchner; that the Ch'i-T'u-ssu was guarantee for Kumbum, that he was the protector of the monastery and that the amban himself could not interfere with the problem of Kumbum. In reminiscence of this fact, the grateful lamas knelt in greeting to the Ch'i T'u-ssu when he attended the festivals at the lamasery. In fact it was customary for the lamas to greet in corps all the T'u-ssu who attended the festivals with their retinue. The same honor was displayed for the Li T'u-ssu and for the Ch'i T'u-ssu at Erh-ku-lung. All the T'u-ssu who fought on the side of the Chinese at that time were intelligent enough to understand that it was not the time to interfere with the problem.

[129] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 46-48, who relies on *Tung-hua-lu, Shih-lu, Shen-wu-chi* for the period of Yung-cheng. *Annals* of the province, ch. 46; 55*b*-56*a*, 56*b*.

WHAT WERE THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THESE CALAMITIES?

The troubles in Lhasa at the beginning of the eighteenth 175 century ruined the influence and power of the Qoshot Mongols in Tibet who had founded the realm of the Dalai Lama.[130] bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, the grandson of Gushi, devising the unification of the Qoshots and the revival in his person of the imperial dream of Gushi, assumed the title of Dalai Hung-T'aichi, and broke into open rebellion against China in the eighth month (September, 1723).[131] His rebellion did not have much appeal for the divided Qoshots, and his power was greatly enfeebled. However, having obtained the tremendous support of the mK'ampo Nomun-khan, superior and chief of Kumbum and his nephew, who called all the lamas and Tibetans of Huang-chung to take sides with him, Bstan-dsin started invading the Chinese frontier and Huang-chung.

Since it was feared that Bstan-dsin would perturb 175 Tibet, the Chinese authorities acted with great promptness. 579 [132] Nien Keng-Yao, marshal for the pacification of the distant countries, and General Yüeh Chung-ch'i were provided with strict instructions to furnish a drastic example for the government which had so lavishly bestowed unusual favors on the lamas of Huang-chung. Nien Keng-yao disposed of 900,000 soldiers,[133] of whom 3,000 were soldiers of the Monguor T'u-ssu. He crushed the revolt by March, 1724, and made Bstan-dsin flee with but a few men. The example was drastic. The revolted lamas and tribes were severely punished, and the monasteries destroyed. In the reports of General Funingga, concerning the quelling of the revolt of bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, written in the Manchu language, and sent to the emperor from Hsining, not a single word is encountered about the part played by the Hsining lamas in the revolt or of the drastic repression by Nien Keng-yao, although Funingga three times had defeated the Moslems and Tibetans who helped bLo-bzan. It is not easy to guess the reason for this reticence.[134]

WHERE WERE THE THREE CELEBRITIES OF ERH-KU-LUNG AT THAT TIME?

The Chang-chia of that time, the second, was still a 175 boy seven years of age. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung had hidden him at the monastery of Chiar-too. Nien Keng-yao, according to orders of Peking, brought the boy there. The whereabouts of T'u-kuan seem mysterious. In 1720 he was in Lhasa, vested with a diplomatic mis-

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[130] Here the consequences of the revolt relative to Lamaism are exposed. The political aspects are dealt with in Schram, *op. cit.*, 36–37.

[131] Petech, *op. cit.*, 82.

[132] *Ibid.*

[133] *Tung-hua-lu, Yung-cheng* 3: 29.

[134] *Berichte des Generals Funingga*, 18 *Jahrhundert*, 104–114, 1953.

sion, but he seems to have been back in Peking before 175
1723. Perhaps he remained at the capital, because Huth[135] tells us that the emperor told him that he was worried about the events in Huang-chung. However, Schuleman says[136] that having been "condoned" he was "brought" to Peking and, a few years later (1729), thanks to his counsel and influence, the emperor allowed the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok to be rebuilt and he contributed to their reconstruction.[137] At that time Sumpa was still a minor Living Buddha, studying at Lhasa. In his later works Sumpa came to the fore with stern uncompromising character in the cause of principles, condemning the acts of lamas who killed human beings. In caustic and cutting terms he frankly put all the blame of these tragic events on the mK'ampo Nomun-khan of Kumbum, on the chiefs of the monasteries of Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, and on the lamas who caused the ruin of all the monasteries, the destruction of their property, and the death of their subjects, whom they had forced to take their side in the trouble. He defended the line of action and the policy of the emperor and did not put a shadow of blame on the drastic means used by the Chinese officers to crush the revolt.[138]

CONSEQUENCES OF THE REVOLT

The regulations governing Lamaism in Huang- 175
chung after the repression of the revolt were as drastic 792
as the repression itself. They show that the emperor 579
was bursting with indignation, at the appalling ingratitude of the monasteries, for he resolved in dead earnest to use an iron policy in handling the turbulent lamas. All the titles and seals of "teachers of the empire" (*kuo-shih*) and "Masters in Dhyana" (*Ch'an-shih*), granted to outstanding and meritorious lamas during the Ming dynasty, were recalled. The complement of lamas was not to exceed three hundred men for the big monasteries, and ten or more for the small monasteries. Lamas were not allowed to have more than one disciple.

Twice a year the Chinese officials were to investigate the monasteries for observance of regulations for which the abbots had been made responsible, to check the number of lamas, and to prevent the concealing of weapons. All the subjects of the lamaseries had to become subjects of the Chinese administration, and the land taxes accruing to the lamas had to be collected by Chinese officials. The subjects of monasteries became liable to corvées imposed by the Chinese for building cities, digging canals, and for the army. Trials and suits were brought under the jurisdiction of the Chinese courts. Every year the Chinese officials had to grant

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[135] Huth, *op. cit.*, 285.
[136] Schuleman, *op. cit.*, 179.
[137] Petech, *op. cit.*, 87.
[138] Han Ju-lin, *op. cit.* 3 (1): 47.

[p. 35(8)]

each lama a certain amount of wheat and a fixed sum 175
of silver as compensation for the withdrawn taxes.[139] 792

The revolt of 1723 ruined the former wealth and 579
prestige of the lamaseries. The Chinese officials, who before 1723 had acted reluctantly as humble servants of the chiefs of the lamaseries for fear of the emperor, became their superiors. They acted as such especially in courts of justice, when monasteries and lamas accused each other, or when Chinese brought suit against monasteries. In the minds of the Chinese officials the prestige of Chang-chia and other Hutukhtus of Huangchung had slipped down many rungs of the ladder of glory. Hutukhtus had to remain in Peking where an honorable office was assigned to them, principally in order to make hostages of them and to prevent new revolts of lamas. Their powers were reduced to honorary dimensions. (The iron hand in the velvet glove!)

Regardless of the fact that titles and distinctions had been granted to the lamas, these drastic regulations were never revoked. Before 1723 the lamas were in the lap of luxury; they collected taxes on their fields which were tilled by their subjects. Now, this primary source of wealth vanished, and their land became of less value.

The boundaries of the extensive properties granted them by the emperors had never been accurately drawn. For the most part, monasteries had simply occupied land adjacent to their property, for at that time they were omnipotent. For more than a century, suits followed concerning the delimitation of the boundaries, which continually shrank, the Chinese officials being eager to sell land to Chinese.

The official revenues of the lamas were restricted to the collection of rents and to a pitifully small amount of wheat and a little silver granted to them yearly.[140] The officials soon substituted poor, cheaper barley for the wheat, and the weight of the grain received was below the official weight; silver was converted into cash and the profit on the exchange went into the pockets of the officials. The subjects of the lamaseries were now subject to the Chinese officials, under whose jurisdiction they were liable to corvée. They were thus withdrawn from the influence of the lamaseries. The once powerful lamas swallowed the bitter pill; evil times had befallen them. The consequences of the revolt of 1723, which had brought Lamaism to such a pass, still prevailed under the Republic.

CONDITIONS OF ERH-KU-LUNG IN 1910–1920

The number of lamas had shrunk from 2,500 in 1723 175
to 270. Only two of the four former colleges still ex- 792
isted. Eleven minor Living Buddhas inhabited the monastery. The temples, homes for lamas and Living Buddhas, and administrative buildings, had been re-

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[139] *Shen-wu-chi*, ch. 5, p. 12; *Ch'ing-shih-kao*, ch. 525; *Fan-pu*, 1, p. 7a; *Tung-hua-lu, Yung cheng, op. cit.* 4: 34–36.

[140] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, p. 12a.

constructed after 1723, and rebuilt a second time after 175
the revolt of the Moslems in 1872 (at which time the 792
monastery had been abandoned for three years). The internal organization of the formerly flourishing monastery was affected by dissensions among the triumvirate, and peace within its walls was disturbed by the divided lamas, who had taken opposite sides in the conflict. The Chang-chia Hutukhtu left Erh-ku-lung, and more than one hundred lamas followed him. It was a severe blow to the mother monastery. He rebuilt one of his branches, called Ch'ie-bzan, to be his abode on the very rare occasions of his short returns from Peking to the country. He never again visited Erh-ku-lung. The seeds of a callous hostility between Erh-ku-lung and Ch'ie-bzan were planted and their relations cut off.

The three founders, however, were and remained the co-proprietors of the initial domain, monastery, and branches of Erh-ku-lung. However, each of them, by means of gifts and domains offered to them individually, had built up his own fortune. They hoarded their revenues or used them to found their own branches. In 1910 T'u-kuan Hutukhtu personally was the proprietor of seven branches. He possessed expansive properties on which he built seven villages. He also possessed eighteen oil or wheat mills. His herds of sheep and horses grazed in the Alashan territory and on the domains of T'ien-t'ang-ssu, his former branch, which by 1910 had become an independent monastery. Chang-chia had six branches of his own, eleven villages, nine mills, and very expansive domains. Sumpa had five branches of his own, and wider territories than T'u-kuan and Chang-chia.

The troubles had started not on questions of doctrine 175
or liturgy, but on matters of finance and property. 792
Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa clashed on the 578
question of a territory belonging to the original domain, the status of which T'u-kuan and Sumpa maintained. Chang-chia, however, claimed it to be his property. Finally, the debatable domain was recognized to be the property of the initial domain.

Chang-chia never forgot this loss of face. The 175
money granted by the emperor for the reconstruction 792
of Erh-ku-lung in 1729 was insufficient. Nevertheless, [578]
Chang-chia urged that a part of it be used for the re- 346
building of his own Ch'ie-bzan. This was refused by the other two and the rift between the triumvirate became wider and wider. T'u-kuan, however, used a large part of his own wealth for the reconstruction of Erh-ku-lung, which lasted for decades. Sumpa, with his own money, built the two colleges, their temples and palaces for Fa-t'ai. Chang-chia refused to make any contribution. After the revolt of 1872 and the destruction of Erh-ku-lung by the Moslems, T'u-kuan and Sumpa rebuilt the monastery. Chang-chia again declined to help.[141] Instead, he rebuilt his own monas-

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[141] It is not surprising that Chang-chia did not print the works of T'u-kuan (see above, p. 31).

tery in the most luxurious style. The head temple, with 175
its gilt tiled roof, which had been preserved, was embellished 792
and other temples rebuilt. He rebuilt a splendid 346
palace for himself patterned after the most luxurious palaces in Peking. Chang-chia's Ch'ie-bzan was the wealthiest monastery in the country, with 150 lamas, 2 colleges, and 4 minor Living Buddhas. Most of its wealth was provided by Mongols, among whom the influence and prestige of Chang-chia was proverbial.

Every year, lama expeditions of Ch'ie-bzan traveled 175
in Mongolia in order to collect alms. Chang-chia's 794
prestige was so great that the Queen of the Torgots 648
came to Ch'ie-bzan in 1913, to invite the intendant of the monastery to send an expedition among her tribesmen, for it had been a long time since an expedition had reached her country. I happened to be at Ch'ie-bzan in 1914 when the expedition returned. It had collected 3,000 sheep, 400 horses, and 280 camels, which were loaded with wool and skins.

The breach between T'u-kuan and Sumpa, which occurred 175
in 1890, was more tragic. During the rebellion 578
of the Moslems, Sumpa (born in 1854) had fled among 792
the Mongols and Tibetans, north of Kukunor. He met with a Mongol girl, whom he had moved to his branch monastery called Sumpa-ssu. The lama community of Erh-ku-lung, after some years, could no longer stand
the disrepute brought on the monastery. It brought [691]
suit against Sumpa before the Amban in the prefectural city of Hsining, claiming he was not a genuine reincarnation. The lama community urged that he be erased from the list of Buddhas, and insisted on the right to search for the genuine reincarnation. For several months the lamas disturbed the whole city with the scandal, and spent money. The Chinese enjoyed all the incidents of the trial. Sumpa lost his face and honor irretrievably. Sumpa, however, was rich and the Amban venal. The Amban finally proposed that Sumpa leave Erh-ku-lung and move to one of his affiliates. This reincarnation (the third) of the illustrious Sumpa, having cut a sorry figure, never returned to Erh-ku-lung, but lived at his branch where, in 1916, his two girls delighted the old age of their father, who was sixty. His eldest daughter had married the son of the chief of the Aruk tribe. In 1916 the old man made a pilgrimage to Lhasa, and the lamas said he was atoning for his sins. No wonder that the Li-fan yüan records lacked information concerning the subsequent reincarnations of the Great Sumpa.

The Living Buddha Ch'ie-bzan of Erh-ku-lung having 175
a branch monastery of his own, moved into it, 792
appearing at Erh-ku-lung only to attend the festivals. 627
The Living Buddha Wang lived in retired seclusion. 762
Soon after the trial of Sumpa, the minor Living Buddha Tsung-tsa, one of the eleven, followed in the steps of Sumpa and established a family in Tsung-tsa. In the winter of the same year, the minor Living Buddha Seerting was taken and beaten at night by the husband and

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friends of a lady Seerting was "visiting." He was found the next morning hanging from a beam in his palace. The loss of face had been too tremendous. Erh-ku-lung had become a place of unrelieved misery. The year 1890 was one of the most fateful in the history of Erh-ku-lung. 175 792 627 762

After the withdrawal of Chang-chia Hutukhtu and Sumpa Hutukhtu, T'u-kuan became the actual omnipotent chief of the monastery, and acted and was recognized as such. Because it is customary to hush up dishonorable facts deliberately, Chang-chia and Sumpa were very seldom spoken about. It was a long time before I knew they had been the honored co-founders of the monastery. 175 792

The former glorious days of Erh-ku-lung vanished. There were no longer learned men at the monastery, which for a century had been the most celebrated center of learning in Huang-chung. Its renown for science passed to the now flourishing monastery of Labrang. The tragic departure of two of its glorious founders put a blight on it, and left a leaden atmosphere of gloom hovering over it. Troubles had succeeded each other. Kumbum, in the meantime, had made great strides, and became the most celebrated monastery of Huang-chung. It was visited by caravans of pilgrims from Mongolia and Tibet, which no longer cared for, or even paid a visit to Erh-ku-lung. Once at the top of the Lamaist world, Erh-ku-lung became a dim shadow of its former self, a second-rate monastery.

III. THE LAMASERIES IN HUANG-CHUNG

THE YELLOW SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG 792

This chapter will deal with the organization of the lamaseries in Huang-chung. The forty-two monasteries and branches situated north of the Hsining River were built according to the pattern of the old mother monastery of Erh-ku-lung. It seems obvious, therefore, to base the study on this initial institution, the most renowned and flourishing in former times. Because all the lamaseries of the Yellow Sect in Huang-chung have been organized on the same pattern, a general view of Lamaist institutions can thus be obtained.

The study is founded on facts collected during a stay of many years among the Monguors; which may give a better insight into the matter and reveal the trend of mind of the actors. 121

THE LAMASERIES OF HUANG-CHUNG INDEPENDENT OF LHASA

All the lamaseries in Huang-chung are autonomous units, independent of Lhasa both in matters of administration and appointment of superiors, even in matters of doctrine. The Achia Lama defended the autonomy of Kumbum against the illegal interference of the Dalai Lama in 1908 by committing suicide. This energetic 175 792

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revindication of the autonomy of Kumbum by Achia 175
sharply confirms the trend of mind of the Monguor 792
lamas concerning the autonomy of their monasteries.

Not a single lamasery in Huang-chung was founded by the Dalai Lama. Kumbum was founded in 1560 by the lama, Rintschen Dson dui dschamtso, and his ten disciples of their own accord. The fourth Dalai Lama, Yon tan, sent a lama to invite the Monguors of Erh-kulung to be so kind as to build a monastery in their country.

Seerkok had been ruined and burned to the ground. The chief lama was beheaded in 1723. Seerkok having no more leaders, the Dalai Lama sent the learned lama, Tsanpo, who was studying at Lhasa, to rebuild the monastery. He bestowed upon Tsanpo the title of Nomum-khan, and recommended him to the emperor. The emperor granted him the title of Hutukhtu. Lhasa no longer cared for Seerkok because it was autonomous, having its own chief.

The other monasteries throughout the whole region were institutions of the Red Sect, such as Ch'ü-t'an, which was founded by the lama San La. Most of them later adhered to the Yellow Sect but maintained their independence. However, some small ties seem to link the lamaseries of Huang-chung to Lhasa. Upon the death of the Hutukhtus of Huang-chung, Lhasa is asked to designate three names to be placed in the golden urn at Peking. One name is drawn from the golden urn thereby determining the new incarnation. However, the three names required for the new incarnation of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu are supplied by his friend, the grand lama of Labrang. The recognition of the incarnation of all the other Living Buddhas of Huang-chung who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu is attested to by the Living Buddhas of Huang-chung. Confirmation of this recognition by a minor Living Buddha is sufficient to establish the Living-Buddhahood of lamas deemed by their confreres to fulfill the requirements *ad hoc*.

For more than a century (1600 to 1723) the relations between the monasteries of Huang-chung and Lhasa had been really important, because of the imposing array of learned scholars of Erh-ku-lung who taught in the most important lamaseries of Lhasa, the lamas of Huang-chung who performed their studies at Lhasa, and the several diplomatic missions of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus sent by the emperors to the Dalai Lamas.

It is not hard to understand why Lhasa displayed so little interest in the monastery of Kumbum. The reason is that Kumbum was autonomous. The Third Dalai Lama paid a short visit to Kumbum for the first time in 1583. He insisted on the founding of a school for the explanation of the sacred texts. In 1723 the chief lama of Kumbum was the fateful mK'ampo Nomun-Khan, nephew of bLo Blzan bstan dsin. He received his title of Nonun-Khan from the Dalai Lama.

From 1715 until 1720 the Seventh Dalai Lama was 175
confined at Kumbum by the emperor. Several visits 792
to Kumbum, made by the Dalai Lama or the Pan-chen Lama on their way to Peking, have to be added in order to complete the scheme of the relations between the two monasteries.

These facts suffice to prove that the relations between the lamaseries of Huang-chung and the Dalai Lama were of courtesy, friendship, and helpfulness, not those of subordinates with superiors. The independence from Lhasa of the lamaseries of Huang-chung is evidenced by their independence in managing their affairs. Each had its supreme chief, who was the recognized proprietor.

THE INTERNAL ORGANIZATION OF THE LAMASERIES

Each monastery has a supreme chief who is the recognized 792
proprietor of the lamasery and the initial territory granted by the emperor or T'u-ssu for the establishment of the monastery. He is the proprietor of the temples and buildings built by him or his previous incarnations, and of the alms offered to it. In Huang-chung the supreme chiefs of monasteries are all Living Buddhas. At present some of them are minor, others major Living Buddhas. In Kumbum, Achia Hutukhtu is the supreme chief of the monastery; in Seerkok, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu. In Erh-ku-lung there are three supreme chiefs, Chang-chia, T'u-kuan, and Sumpa, but actually T'u-kuan Hutukhtu alone governs the whole monastery because of the historical circumstances already recorded. Minor Living Buddhas are Buddhas who do not enjoy the title of Hutukhtu, granted by the emperor, and whose name, usually, is not recorded in the files of the Li Fan Yüan in Peking. Minor Living Buddhas, in order to live inside the walls of the great monastery and to build a palace, must obtain the permission of the supreme chief; they are considered as guests of the lamasery.

The supreme chief is responsible before the Chinese administration for his subjects' crimes or murders committed in his monastery, or in his domain. He appoints the superiors of the various institutions established inside the monastery and in the branches. In time of trouble between the various institutions he tries to mediate. The extent to which he interferes with subordinates depends not on institutional regulations, but simply on whether he is personally a meddlesome character.

In monasteries the "community of the lamas" is a recognized autonomous unit, with its own wealth, properties (herds, fields, subjects, etc.), administration. It has its own right to bring suit in the Chinese courts, and to establish subsidiaries, whose administrators depend upon it and not upon the supreme chief. The community of Erh-ku-lung has three such subsidiaries: Ta-ssu, Hsiao-ssu, and Hsiao Erh-ku-lung. It was the

Concerning Seerkok, the former subsidiary of Erh- 792
ku-lung, it is recorded that it disposed of a property 423
45 miles (150 *li*) in length and 10 miles (30 *li*) wide.[4] [651]
Achia Hutukhtu of Kumbum collected taxes and rents
from five tribes of farming Tibetans and the inhabitants 434
of seven valleys.[5] The country for 200 *li* around Kum-
bum belongs to the monastery; several thousand "tame"
barbarians are its subjects.[6] Achia Hutukhtu received
from the emperor an extensive region for grazing his
herds in Chahar (Inner Mongolia). The contract was [643]
written by order of the emperor in 1766.[7] Erh-ku-lung
received land from the Ch'i T'u-ssu, where a lot of its
subjects farmed. After the revolt of 1723, the Ch'i
T'u-ssu responsible for the revolt of Erh-ku-lung lost
his title and the subjects who farmed his land. Later
he was given a chance to regain his title and subjects, if
he could bring those who had revolted to submission.
He succeeded, and recovered title and subjects, as de-
scribed in Part I (p. 50).

It has been recorded that Ch'ü-t'an, which was the 175
first lamasery founded by the Ming emperors, received 643
wide domains so that it was able to build the two large 792
branches of Yao-ts'ao-t'ai and Hung Shan-ssu (*Annals* 423
of Hsining. ch. 15, p. 13). During the Ming dynasty 434
large domains had also been granted to the Karwa and
Nang-suo institutions, as noted above. Most of the
minor Living Buddhas also possessed domains granted
by T'u-ssu or wealthy people, or which they purchased
themselves.

If account is taken of all these facts, it is easy to 175
understand why the Chinese officials, who before 1723 651
could not collect taxes on all these vast domains, har- 792
bored an enormous jealousy, and why they exulted after 434
the revolt when the emperor assigned the collection
of these taxes to them. The text of the author of the
Annals of Hsining records (chap. 31, p. 22) that
". . . in 1727, by decree, the emperor in one day, put
an end to calamities lasting hundreds of years." This
text, on the one hand, proves the rejoicing of the
Chinese officials at that time; on the other hand, the loss
of these enormous revenues impoverished the monas-
teries tremendously. The lamas, however, were very
proficient in finding a means to cushion the shock to
some extent.[8]

RENTS

After the revolt, the lamas could only receive the rent 792
of their tenants in the way in which a rich landowner 427
received them; but it was customary that the govern- 651
ment receive the taxes, not directly from the tenants, 434

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[4] *Meng-tsang Fo-chiao shih* 5: 123.

[5] *Ibid.*, 143.

[6] *Ibid.*, 11.

[7] *Ibid.*, 143.

[8] In 1948 according to the official data provided by the Bureau of the actual province of Ch'ing-hai (Hsining), only 177 of the 235 lamaseries, owned collectively about 500,000 *mou* (acres) of land and 5,000 to 6,000 head of livestock. Wang Wen-han, *Pien-chiang tung-hsin* 1: 1–7, 1948.

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The oil trade is a very important and lucrative business. 792
Flour is sold in Hsining. The taxes imposed [438]
on the mills are very heavy, but the monasteries still 434
enjoy the old privilege granted before 1723, and are
exempted from these taxes. Even families in which a 651
Living Buddha has been born enjoy the same privilege, for instance, the Lan family living in Hung nai tzu Valley. Every year, however, the family has to offer 10 pounds of oil at Erh-ku-lung to the intendancy of its Buddha, deceased a century ago. The lamas claim the privilege, which was granted during the Yung lo period (1403–1424), because oil is consumed in the lamps of the temples before the Buddhas, and flour is used by the lamas, the servants of Buddha.

FORESTS

Only two monasteries possess extensive forests— 792
Seerkok and T'ien-T'ang. Because wood is very scarce 434
in the northern part of the province, forests are an important source of revenue. 314

TOLL ON BRIDGES

The history of the famous bridge of T'ien T'ang has 792
been recorded. For many years it was a source of large 434
revenue, which finally caused its ruin. [494]

The monastery of Kan-ch'an, belonging to the famous 505
Tenma, receives toll on a raft, which ferries passengers 175
across the Ta-t'ung River. Tenma is a very well-known man in the country. His first incarnation, a learned man, was appointed Fa-t'ai in Erh-ku-lung by the first Chang-chia (Huth, p. 279). It is related that he caused the ruin of Erh-ku-lung. In 1723 bLo-bzan bstan-dsin, chief of the revolt, was a prisoner in Hsining, and about to be executed. He heard that Tenma was in the city. Through the guardians of the jail, he implored him to write a letter to the Chinese generals in order to save his life. Tenma, unaware of the consequences of such an act, wrote the letter. The generals got the impression that Erh-ku-lung was mixed up with the revolt, and they destroyed the monastery. This is a fine story, manufactured on the ground out of whole cloth, in order to free the old mother monastery from blame, but why was the blame put on Tenma?

For many years during the period of my stay, the 792
young Tenma, swelling with ambition, was the most 334
talked-of man in the country for his audacious plan to construct a European suspension bridge over the river, like those in photographs he had seen in magazines. He started buying all the available iron in the country, felling all the big trees growing on the domain of the monastery, and building a large brickyard. Blacksmiths, carpenters, and bricklayers worked for four years. He built four great towers, two on each side of the river. The blacksmiths made enormous iron chains, too heavy to manipulate or to move. He exhausted the entire treasure of the monastery. Troubles started

[p.45(A)]

LAMASERIES AS ADMINISTRATIVE CENTERS OF THE COUNTRY AND CONDITIONS OF THE SUBJECTS BEFORE 1723

792 175 The study of the material aspects of the administration of the monasteries and the status of their subjects in 1910–1920, which are the consequences of the revolt of 1723, provides many facts pointing to the situation as it existed before 1723, and makes possible a reconstruction of the conditions in which the lamaseries flourished and their subjects lived before that fateful date.

At the time the Ming dynasty (1368–1644) had succeeded in driving the Mongols out of China, there existed in Huang-chung only the two cities of Hsining and Nien pei, and some fortified walled places which were garrisons established in former times to assure the occupation of the always disturbed country. The Ming started anew the colonization of the depopulated country by transplanting from central China 7,200 Chinese families (Part I: p. 30), accepting the submission of the Monguors, and assigning to each of their groups a definite territory, making them wardens of the country and their chiefs officials of the empire, with the prerogatives of the office of T'u-ssu (Part I: 46 sq.). The city of Hsining was more a military than a civil administrative center.

[168 648] In order to repopulate the country, the Ming adopted the policy of attracting lamas and settling them in the region with the subjects they induced to submit to the empire. It granted them territories and made the lamas the hereditary chieftains of the groups they had brought in. They were responsible for the tribute to be offered to the emperor and had complete jurisdiction over their subjects. Hence the flourishing of lamaseries, Nang-suos, Karwas. The protection bestowed upon the lamas and the immunity granted to them by the emperor made the dissatisfied Chinese officials keep quiet and swallow their national pride.

Consequently, large territories were assigned to the Monguor clans and larger or smaller ones to the lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas, whose inhabitants were completely withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Chinese officials. Besides these autonomous groups there lived, scattered over the country, some small groups of petty Tibetan tribes, remnants of tribes which had fled from Kukunor or Tibet, depending directly upon the Chinese administration. From among those groups, from among the Monguor clans, and from their own subjects, the lama institutions recruited and increased the number of their lamas.

792 175 692 [643] The chiefs of the lama institutions accredited by the emperor lived in their seigniories like princes, surrounded by a large or small retinue, occupying a more or less elaborate residence built within a compound of temples, the quarters of the lamas, and large granaries. They appointed the staffs of lama officials for administering justice among the subjects (officially appointed

chiliarchs still exist in Kumbum, Erh-ku-lung and 792
Seerkok), meting out punishments (instruments of 175
torture are still displayed at lama courts), and im- 692
prisonment (the prison of Seerkok still exists); caring for the preservation of peace and order in the territories assigned to them, inquiring about travelers passing through it; administering the distribution of fields, the imposition and collection of taxes, the imposition of tolls on bridges (the bridge of T'ien t'ang and raft of Kan ch'an), and the imposition of corvées.

At the time of the inroads of marauding Mongol and Tibetan tribes, the revolts of Moslems, and the lama revolt against China in 1723, the subjects were compelled by the lamas to take sides with them in combat and in defending the lamaseries and their territories. In short, the privileges bestowed upon the chiefs of the lama institutions before 1723 were far-reaching. They were units, scattered over the country, administering their subjects according to their own rules and customs, entirely free from the interference of Chinese officials.

The lamaseries were the administrative centers of the 792
groups subordinated to them. All the country's wealth 175
flowed into their granaries and treasuries. Moreover, 425
the lamas tended herds of cows, sheep, and horses, built 426
oil and grain mills, and received donations. The lamaseries were the only places where huge sums of money could be borrowed (Li and Ch'i T'u-ssu borrowed money from them by mortgaging parts of their properties). They removed the wealth of the country from circulation and hoarded it or used it to found new lama communities (the tremendous branching out of monasteries between 1600 and 1723). They did not even use it for charitable institutions for the people of the country.

The lamaseries, originally built in lonely places and 792
in remote valleys, in order that the monks would not 175
be disturbed in their meditations and studies by the 651
tumult of the world, were in olden times the most ani- 427
mated places of the country. In autumn the subjects carried taxes and rents on long caravans of donkeys to their granaries. The measuring of grain went on, as it did all over Asia, with rumbling noise and cries, bursting with activity for weeks in succession. At the time of exchanging tea for horses all the subjects were interested in the assessment of the horses. The tumult and discussions on the grounds of the monastery lasted for days and days. The selection of the horses for tribute to the emperor was conducted with like tumult and confusion, and often for the same length of time. Two or three times a year large festivals were held at
the monasteries. They were attended by all the people [554
of the country interested in horse racing, wrestling, 443]
singing, dancing, and in the big fairs held at that time. Chinese traders came from the city, pitched their tents, paid toll to the lamas, and sold their wares. The Monguors and Tibetans also arrived with their homespun

products and animals for trading. All year long the 792
silence of the holy places was disturbed by the coming 175●
and going of caravans of donkeys carrying grain to the 651
oil and grain mills, and returning with flour and oil 427
which was measured with the usual rumble of noise and cries. Throughout the year, groups of subjects never failed to become involved in trials, defending their rights by roaring and crying with vehemence and passion at the court of lamas. Punishments were meted out with ruthless severity, so that cries and screams could be heard throughout the entire monastery—whetting the curiosity and disturbing the meditation of the monks.

The interest of the subjects was centered only on the 175
monastery. There was no need for them to go to the 633
city, since the necessities of life could be secured at the 792
monastery fairs and nobody cared for the Chinese officials, the lamas being their legal officials. Many, many people had never seen or entered a city. The monasteries and their subjects lived their own life, in their own orbit, alien to the city, just as if Chinese officials did not exist.

These conditions changed after 1723 when the lamas lost their privileges and the country developed economically. From that time on the city became the center of the economic, civil, and administrative life; before that time, it had been primarily a military center, engrossed in the protection of the country.

What was the social position of the subjects of the 175
lama institutions before 1723? It seems that religion 792
must have been a subsidiary and not a primary motive 571
for becoming subjects of the lamas, because all of them were spurred by the hope of earning a better living under the lama regime than under the regimes of the Chinese officials or the Monguor T'u-ssu. Having been driven out of their territories by marauding Mongols, they may have hoped to find a peaceful country within the frontier zone of China, on the domains of the lamas. Being groups or tribes, or single families of destitute people, they were happy to submit to lama chiefs, and they were thankful to them for being accepted as their subjects. They did not lay claim to any rights, and the lamas did not consider that they were entitled to any, because they had achieved nothing that could have supported such claims. In this way the lamas strove to make their domains more and more productive, and were only concerned with the duties to be imposed on the subjects, without paying any attention whatever to rights they might have claimed.

The subjects were all on the same social level; there 175
was no more question of nobles and commoners among 565
them. They were all equally subject to taxes and cor- 792
vées, and all of them were tenants of the fields of the lamas. They enjoyed the rights to live, to till the soil, and to consume the surplus of their labor. Since the lamas never sold their fields, the subjects had no opportunity to become proprietors of the soil, as was the

[p. 50(A)]

case with the subjects of the T'u-ssu, and so no out- 175
standing rich families could rise up among them. Since 565
the entire administration was carried on exclusively 792
by lamas, the subjects could hardly incur any important
social prestige within their circle, or become leading
personalities, and certainly not during the entire Ming
period (1368–1644) when intermittent troubles and
interruptions of trade curtailed the opportunity to become
rich. Accordingly, the lamas effectively controlled
the subjects and their domains.

As no written code of law existed, the lama officials 175
helped themselves with a house law on a grand scale, 792
by imposing taxes, corvées, and tribute, mediating 692
troubles in families, meting out punishments and imprisonments
for crying injustices. The subjects, pinning
their hope on a better living, were submissive and
obedient, simply because the chief lama was their lord.

It is easy to understand that the subjects of the monasteries enjoyed no rights of their own, but they depended entirely on the administration of the chief of the monastery and his lama officials.

It may be supposed, however, that capital punish- [68B]
ment of the subjects of the monasteries was reserved
to the emperor, as it was in the case of subjects of the
T'u-ssu. It is not known whether, before 1723, the
right of recourse of the subjects to a higher Chinese
court existed or not. If it did exist, it must have been
nominal, as it is at present.

The living conditions of the subjects, however, must 175
have been for the most part bearable, as evidenced by 792
the fact that so many people applied to the lamaseries 571
to become subjects. Only after 1723 are a few cases
known of subjects revolting against the chief lama and
his officials, such as the case of Yang-kuo-erh-ssu, and
that of the subjects of the Sina tribe, who preferred to
become Chinese subjects rather than remain subjects
of the lamas. On the other hand, the unbelievably large
number of lamas from among the subjects, since every
family had a son or an uncle lama, must have disposed
the families favorably toward the monasteries and their
chiefs, and made the subjects overlook the shortcomings
and deficiencies inherent in any human institution.

The reasons why the privileged status of the monasteries lasted for so long in Huang-chung were, first, the insecurity of the country, especially after 1509, and then the influence of the Erh-ku-lung Hutukhtus in Peking.

The chiefs of the monasteries were, at the same time, 175
the temporal and the spiritual chiefs of the subjects. 792
The subjects were compelled to invite the lamas on 794
whom they depended to recite texts in behalf of the
families or of the communities, or to perform public or
private ceremonies, to the exclusion of lamas of other
communities, at such times as epidemics, epizootics, the
burying of the dead. They had to make donations at
fixed times, when their lamas, their chiefs, came touring
for alms among them. Corvées were imposed at
the time of celebrations and festivities at their lamaseries.

[p. 50 (B)]

However, no compulsory religious instruction was pro- 175
vided for adults or children in order to make the sub- 792
jects more fervent, and no schools or charitable institu- 794
tions existed. The subjects were never compelled to attend ceremonies in the temples, for only lamas recite texts in temples, and temples are not what we are accustomed to calling churches. Finally, the religious activities imposed on the subjects reflected more a material than a spiritual interest, and bound them closer to their chiefs.

If we take into account the period of incredibly rapid 175
increase in the founding and branching out of monas- 792
teries, the number of lamas must have been tremendous. Certainly the revolt of 1723 and its drastic suppression largely prove this assertion. Necessarily, the absorption into the lama communities of a large proportion of the male population of the country must have adversely affected productivity. Men who became lamas were not only withdrawn from production, but had to be fed by the depleted population. It is easy to understand that in such circumstances trade and industry could by no means develop and flourish. The large groups of lamas did not produce anything; they merely consumed the production of the country and hoarded its wealth. Their economic role was simply that of consumers, and so the economy of the country was necessarily agricultural and limited to its needs.

The same conditions existed in the two cities of Huang-chung and in the garrisons. There the soldiers and the relatively feeble population consumed what the colonists could produce. Only later on, when peace was restored, communications with the capital of the province assured, and trade had become possible, could the cities and the whole country develop and emerge from the former limited agricultural economy—an outlet had been found for the products of the country. The farmer, assured of the possibility of selling as much as he could produce, started producing to the peak of his capacity. These conditions seem to explain the deadly stagnation prevailing in the country from 1368 to 1723.

These seem to have been the conditions of lama Buddhism between 1368 and 1723 in Huang-chung, the privileged legal position of the temporal and spiritual chiefs of large and small lama institutions, the important role played by the monasteries, Nang-suos and Karwas, centers of the public and private life of the country, the bursting activity displayed inside the walls of the monasteries, the conditions of the subjects of the monasteries and the economic consequences arising from the tremendous number of the male population which had become lamas.[9]

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[9] H. H. Vreeland, 3rd, Mongol community and kinship structure, *Human Relations Area Files*, New Haven, 1954. After the completion of the present study, there appeared this outstanding study dealing with the Khalkha Mongols of the Narobanchin territory, the Chahar Mongols of the Taibas pasture and the Dagor Mongols of the Nonni River valley. The study [13]

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BRANCH LAMASERIES

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It has been noted how at Erh-ku-lung there existed from the very beginning a real passion for the founding of hermitages, which began as affiliates and later became independent monasteries. Not only did the three founders of the monastery found their own branches next to those of the monastery, but the lesser Living Buddhas, the communities of lamas, and the colleges followed their example. According to the superiors of the monastery, and the general testimony in the country, forty-two branches proceeded from Erh-ku-lung. Several times prominent lamas told me that the founders of branches had a predilection for them at the time of their founding, but later they invariably became a burden.

ADMINISTRATION AND OFFICIALS

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The first act of the founder of a branch was to appoint a rector, Nirwa (Nerpa), as chief of the new community. At the beginning, when the group of lamas was still small, he held the entire authority in his own hands. Later on a lama disciplinarian, Ge-ko, a precentor, Um-dse, and an adviser to the rector were added, and the administration was complete. For a very long time, the rector also had the function of procurator. The rector and the disciplinarian were appointed by the founder of the subsidiary for a three years' tenure of office. Later, precentor, adviser, and procurator were chosen by the community. The rector and the disciplinarian were invited to the mother house to receive their appointment. The whole community of the branch had to come to the mother house in order to invite and to acknowledge the new authorities by

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concerning the lamasery of Narobanchin, based on data provided to the author by the Dilowa Hutukhtu himself, coproprietor of the institution, gives a unique insight into the nature of a lamasery, situated in the open Gobi desert, among nomadic tribes insulated from the impact of the Chinese civilization and culture, and in its adaptation to the tribal, social and economic environment. The history of the founders is noted, the way the banner princes granted territories, allowed their subjects to abandon them in order to become plain subjects of the lamasery, the legal status of the lamasery and its subjects, the rendering of justice by the lamas, the interesting administration of the temple wealth and property, the means of subsistence of the subjects, the levies, services, and corvées imposed by the lamasery, etc. This study sheds light on what the social and economic conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries must have been before the revolt of 1723, and is a perfect foil to the actually existing conditions of the subjects of the Monguor lamaseries. This study for a long time will remain a standard work in this special field. The study of shamanism among the Dagor Mongols (p. 250) is a very valuable contribution to the subject of shamanism among the Mongols; many new facts and peculiar conceptions concerning souls, death, and spirits are secured and their impact upon the family life exposed. The peculiar position and behavior of the shamans in the Dagor society is very instructive.

The chapters concerning the social organization, economic life, and kinship and property structure of these tribes are of equal importance, but they do not fit into the frame of this study.

[p. 51(B)]

prostrations and by presentation of the ceremonial scarf. 175
They escorted them to the branch where a sheep was 792
killed and a dinner enjoyed. 794

DOMAINS AND REVENUES

An affiliate, in order to enjoy viability, had to possess 175
a territorial domain. The mother house, where possible, 792
assigned to it a part of its own domain; where this was 571
not possible, the founder made arrangements to provide 794
a domain. The T'u-kuan bought some ground for his affiliate of Ma-t'i-ssu. Every year the affiliate had to pay the interest of the capital thus invested, amounting to 60 taels or 36½ bricks of tea. The rector of the affiliate was bound to account for the material administration of his institution, receipt of rents, selling of trees, investment of the capital of the affiliate, and herds, and required a fixed sum to be sent out of the revenues to the intendancy of the founder. Finally, the intendant of the founder supervised the material administration of the subsidiary. When recalcitrant subjects refused obeisance, the rector and the disciplinarian sent them to the mother house, but such subjects would quit the monastery before they were summoned to see the founder.

OBLIGATION TO A FA-T'AI WHEN INVITED

When one of the members of the subsidiaries is invited to take the office of Fa-t'ai (Lob-pon) at the mother house, he is never allowed to decline the invitation, even after the subsidiary has become entirely independent, and even if the man thus summoned to officiate as invited Fa-t'ai is a Living Buddha or the supreme chief of the independent monastery. This custom seems to be general.

OBLIGATION TO JOIN THE RETINUE OF THE CHIEF OF THE LAMASERY

When the founder of the affiliate makes a long journey 175
or accompanies an alms expedition to far-off countries, 792
the branches must send lamas to make up his retinue. 484
When the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu went to Peking to fulfill the assignment entrusted to him at the capital, even the independent old branches were kind enough to present a couple of lamas each to enhance his prestige. When he went to Peking for the last time, seventeen independent branches sent lamas. Lamas like to visit the capital, since it is a remunerative business. In the Orient a traveler always does some business on the way, especially an eminent personage such as T'u-kuan,
traveling as a state official. He and his retinue enjoyed [534]
the privilege of going everywhere free of taxes.

AUTONOMY OF BRANCH LAMASERIES 175

How did the subsidiaries become independent? The 792
tragic events which occurred at Ch'ü-t'an and Yao- 794
ts'ao-t'ai have already been recorded. Although such 571

[p.52(A)]

tragic events seldom happen, independence is never 175
acquired without friction between the daughter and 792
mother houses. Usually the difficulties begin with the 794
crucial problem of the delivery of the share of revenue 571
required by the intendancies of the founders. The separation usually occurred, according to old lamas, at a time when the mother house was involved in inextricable difficulties and unable to assert its authority, or when the founder was still in the prime of life.

The obsession for having Living Buddhas started in Erh-ku-lung in the second half of the seventeenth century with the incarnations of the founders. Very soon some of the subsidiaries endowed themselves with their own Living Buddhas, partly for decorative reasons and partly in anticipation of a possible rupture with the founders. These Living Buddhas eventually seized a favorable opportunity provided by circumstances to declare their independence and take possession of the territory formerly allocated to the subsidiary. On the other hand, it is easy to understand that subsidiaries, which had developed to the point of having several hundred inmates, or two thousand as in Seerkok, split away (from the mother house) when they had capable authorities, or when the intendancies of the mother house were too exacting and greedy on the question of collecting a share of the revenues of the subsidiary. At such a time the veneer of filial devotion easily scales off.

This was the case with the affiliate of T'ien-T'ang with its seven hundred lamas, two Living Buddhas, and three colleges. Its founder, T'u-kuan, squeezed to the wall, understood the gravity of the situation and made the best of a bad bargain, granting independence after it had been declared, provided the duty was acknowledged of presenting a yearly allocation to the intendancy of one of the Living Buddhas of T'ien-T'ang, the teacher in a former incarnation of T'u-kuan (this was a delicate gesture), together with the right to graze his herds on the domain of the new monastery. The conditions were gratefully accepted and good relations between the former daughter and its mother house continued.

The branch of Ta-ssu, depending on the community of the lamas of Erh-ku-lung, had troubles with the intendancy of its founder concerning the crucial question of the exaction of revenues. It happened that one of the lamas of Ta-ssu, scion of the noble family of the Lu T'u-ssu, died. The shrewd lamas invited the supreme chief of the lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an in order to inquire whether the departed lama had or had not been of the stuff of which Living Buddhas are made. The intelligent Living Buddha of Ch'ü-t'an easily understood the meaning of the fervent lamas and declared that the noble lama was already reborn in the family of the Prince of Alashan, and it happened that the wife of the noble Lu T'u-ssu was a princess of Alashan. This was a double blessing sent by the Buddha! Independence was immediately declared, backed by the in-

[p.52(B)]

fluential family of the Lu T'u-ssu and the Prince of 175
Alashan, and a new monastery was born. The com- 792
munity of Erh-ku-lung was powerless. 794

It sometimes happens that a branch not having its 571
own Living Buddha does not wait to declare its independence. Chai-ya, a small branch of forty lamas dependent on T'u-kuan, possessed some forests; the selling of trees was its primary source of revenues. The subprefect of P'ing-fan confiscated the forest in 1912. At the time, rumors were spread all over the country concerning the confiscation of the domains of all the monasteries. T'u-kuan, deeming it not the appropriate time to accuse the subprefect at the capital of the province, did not help the branch to recover the forest. The frustrated and infuriated branch boldly declared its independence and thereafter had no further relations with the founder.

Kalang, an old, independent affiliate of Labrang, founded its own branch, Pi-t'ang. Pi-t'ang flourished and Kalang declined. Pi-t'ang prepared to invite a Living Buddha to move into its establishment, but Kalang refused permission. The lamas of the lamaseries fought among themselves in 1912, and the Moslem General, Ma K'o-ch'en, sent troops to quell the troubles. In 1915 the country was troubled by the Pai Lang (White Wolf) brigands, and the old feud flared up again. Kalang accused Pi-t'ang at the subprefecture of Hsün-hua. Finally Kalang refused to accept the verdict of the subprefect and prepared to fight Pi-t'ang. The general, Ma K'o-ch'en of Hsining, sent his troops, and twenty-one fighting lamas of Kalang and seven Moslem soldiers were killed. Kalang had to pay an indemnity of $10,000 for the soldiers killed. The members of the intendancy were put into jail and Pi-t'ang was declared independent by the Moslem general. These facts give an insight into the problems of the subsidiaries, the very loose ties which knit mother and daughter houses, the reasons which cause a scission, and the ways in which their separation may be achieved and independence acquired. Very often the part played by the intendants is paramount in creating the breach between mother and daughter houses.

LAMA ARMY

At present, the lamaseries of Huang-chung no longer 175
have a regular armed force of lamas who are maintained 792
by the lamasery, as is still the rule in Tibet. The only 701
record encountered in the *Annals* of Hsining (ch. 28, p 13) concerning a lama army is a supplication sent to the emperor during Cheng-te period (1506–1521) by the Chinese officials of Hsining, asking that the farmers of Hsining be exempted from the burden of supporting the lama army. At that time there existed only the important lamasery of Ch'ü-t'an, with its subsidiaries, some Nang-suos and Karwas, and the lamasery of Sha-chün. From the relatively small number of lamas at that time, it may be assumed that the lama army con-

sisted of lamas and the subjects of the monastery. 175 ●
However, during the revolt of 1723, the lamaseries were 792
in full bloom, and must have had soldiers, because the 701
Chinese General, Nien Keng-yao, blamed the lamas for fighting furiously, and the monasteries for being the depots of weapons. It may be assumed that after the revolt of 1723 the lamaseries were not allowed to have armies. However, during the revolt of the Moslems in 1895, the lamas of Kumbum attacked the stronghold of the rebels in To-pa as auxiliaries of the Chinese regular armies.[10] Nearly all the monasteries at that time except Kumbum were destroyed and burned.

INTERFERENCE OF THE EMPEROR AND T'U-SSU WITH THE LAMASERIES

In Europe during the Middle Ages, many monasteries 800
and abbeys had a bad time. The princes and kings granted vast domains to religious orders to encourage them to branch out into their territories. The grants were gratefully accepted and abbeys built, but some among the gracious donors, in a surge of religiosity, went so far as to appoint an official for the collection of land taxes and the administration of the domains, whose duty it was to furnish the revenue to the abbots in order to free the monks of material troubles. Often these officials were relatives of the donors, and collected most of the taxes for themselves, and the monasteries, unable to make ends meet and to uphold and develop their institutions, had no means of protesting against the relative of the prince. Very often princes started interfering in the administration of the monasteries and claimed the right to appoint an abbot of their own, often a relative. After unworthy abbots were appointed the monasteries relaxed, with the consequences that might be expected.

I know of only two similar cases of interference in 643
Huang-chung. The Lu T'u-ssu of Lien ch'eng had 175
established three important lamaseries and granted vast 792
domains to them. In 1727 the census records for the 622
monastery of Ku-ch'eng show 140 lamas, for Lien-hua 100, and for Pao-nen-ssu 191, a total of 431 lamas. Next to them the T'u-ssu had founded two smaller monasteries, Hsi ssu and Kan-ch'an ssu, which received smaller domains from him. Two among these five monasteries had no Living Buddhas, so that the T'u-ssu appointed himself the intendant; and every three years, at appointment time, troubles arose.

The case of Ch'ü-t'an has been recorded. According to the legend the monk, Emperor Hui-ti, had appointed his relative hereditary administrator of the domains, and a tablet had been erected testifying to the appointment. The fact is, that the real emperor of the

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[10] Susie Carson Rynhart, M.D., *With the Tibetans in tent and temple*, 92, London, Fleming Revell, 1902; see also M. S. Wellby, *Through unknown Tibet*, 281, Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1898.

[p.53(B)]

Yung-cheng period, not the monk Emperor Hui-ti, had 643
appointed the administrator, who was killed. 175

Possibly the precarious position of the Li and Ch'i 792
T'u-ssu, their financial troubles, which compelled them 622
to mortgage parts of their domains to Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, enfeebled their influence and power, and prevented them from interfering with the administration of the monasteries which had received domains from them in former times. On the other hand, Erh-ku-lung and Seerkok, before 1723, had prominent Hutukhtus whose influence superseded that of the T'u-ssu. Only these two cases are known to me.

IV. ADMINISTRATION OF THE LAMASERIES: EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS 792

It seems necessary in dealing with the educational and religious aspects of a monastery, its rules, discipline, and colleges, to know beforehand to what kind of subjects the initiation into the monastic life and religious training is given. The subjects of the monastery are its main source of lamas.

LAMAS

LACK OF CANDIDATES

The superiors of all the monasteries complained bitterly about the want of religious candidates. In fact they declared that at this time (1911–1920) there existed in Huang-chung only two monasteries still having the four colleges (Kumbum and Sha-ch'ung), and the fact that so many monasteries were shadows of their former selves was the consequence of the lack of religious candidates.

CAUSES CONTRIBUTING TO LACK OF CANDIDATES

The situation in Huang-chung in 1910 was no longer 175
the same as that before 1723. After the crushing of the 177
revolt, the country had enjoyed peace, and developed and prospered tremendously. Chinese settled in great numbers in the thinly populated country, filled with hopes for a comfortable living. Chinese officials became more and more numerous. Chinese *literati* came to take the helm and to enforce on the uncivilized Monguors, Tibetans, and lamas admiration for the superior Chinese civilization.

First of all, the Monguors, not insulated against the impact of Chinese culture because a large number of Chinese had already been enrolled in their clans, and because their T'u-ssu were already far along in the process of Sinicization, underwent the process in differing degrees. In Huang-chung, even as in the northwest border countries of China, the first consequences of the process of Sinicization are a pride in being considered Chinese, and a scorn for lamas, whom they be-

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gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family 173 starts losing its identity, no more children become 177 lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools [871] with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was pro- 175 vided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans 792 of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia, and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

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[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, 98, New York, Century, 1891.

NUMBER OF LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

Fantastic figures concerning the number of lamas are 175 encountered in publications on the subject.[1a] Concern- 792 ing Huang-chung, we possess a census of lamas and la- 162 maseries (*Annals* of Hsining, ch. 16, pp. 6, 9, 10, 12) existing between 1729 and 1735. Although the census returns used are largely mere estimates, they seem to have at least a general reliability. However, because there is no comparable census of the secular population, it is impossible to determine the proportion of lamas to the male population at that time.

After the revolt of 1723, each lama was to be given a certain amount of wheat yearly, for his subsistence.[2] At the same time, the number of lamas to be allowed in the big monasteries was fixed at 300, and in the small monasteries at 10 or more. A register was kept by the official containing the name and age of each lama. Lamaseries which had more than the allotted number of lamas could only get support for 300 of them. Certainly Kumbum with 3,000 and Seerkok with 700, surpassed the quota, if not in 1730, without doubt later on. It may be supposed that in this period those of the larger lamaseries that were short of the number of lamas allowed made provision (through bribery) to have the largest possible number recorded. The total figure noted, according to the census, is 5,543 lamas, living in the four subprefectures of Hsining, Nien-pei, Ta-t'ung, and Kui-te, scattered among 77 lamaseries.

According to the situation in 1910 very few of the large monasteries reached the quota of 300 lamas, except Kumbum which is said to have had 3,000. Therefore, if we suppose that the total number of lamas in the four subprefectures reached 10,000, our estimate would certainly be sufficient. Regarding the excessive number of lamas in one lamasery, it must be borne in mind that the lamas are always prone to exaggerate; for instance, the number 3,000 for Kumbum is not the number of lamas dwelling in the monastery, but the number of parts or "shares" into which the gifts distributed to the [431] lamas are divided. The distribution differs in each monastery. In Kumbum for instance, at each distribution each of the Living Buddhas receives 50 parts, as do the five Fa-t'ais; other officials receive 20, 10, and 5 parts, etc. In this way the actual number of lamas is reduced to 2,000.

At the time I lived at Kumbum the number of lamas who attended the morning ceremonies in the central 175 hall never exceeded 800 or 900, although all the inmates 792 of the monastery had to attend the exercise. This fact 162 led me to make inquiries, and this was the explanation given by the officials of the monastery, and confirmed by officials of other monasteries where the same rule exists. In 1779, only fifty years after the destruction of the lamaseries in Huang-chung and the fixing of the official census, the Panchen Lama on the way to Peking, where he died from smallpox, remained for a few [164] months at Kumbum. "In Amdo were 50,000 lamas in all the monasteries whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one 'san' to each monk."[3] To people conversant with the geography and history of the country, this number seems fantastic.

[1a] W. W. Rockhill, *op. cit.*, 215, cites with approval a Chinese estimate that for every family in Tibet there were three lamas.

[2] The census (1729–1735) records in the prefecture of Hsining 2,611 lamas. Each lama received yearly 1.6 *tan* of wheat; each of the 961 lamas of the subprefecture of Nien-pei received yearly 1.7 *tan* of wheat; each of the 1,331 lamas of the subprefecture of Ta-t'ung received yearly 2.7 *tan* of barley; each of the 690 lamas of the subprefecture of Kuei-te received only 0.24 *tan* of barley. The 5,543 recorded lamas of the four subprefectures of Hsining received subsistence grants of 9,040 *tan* of grain as compensation for the taxes the 77 lamaseries were no longer allowed to collect after the revolt of 1723. *Annals* of Hsining **16**: 6b, 9a, 10a, 12a. [p. 55(A)]

The most recent and reliable data concerning the figures of the lamas in the province of Ch'ing-hai were secured by Mr. Wang Wen-han in 1948.[4] He made his inquiries on the basis of the recent official census provided by the Min-cheng t'ing or "people's (local) government office." Since the establishment in 1928 of the province of Ch'ing-hai, which encompasses the whole of Kukunor, Yu-shu, and large territories around Kui-te and Ta-t'ung hsien, formerly considered as barbarian regions, 13 subprefectures have been established, in which there are 235 lamaseries having 26,534 lamas. In the remote barbarian Yu-shu only there are 99 lamaseries with 10,665 lamas. The entire population of the new province being 1,346,320 inhabitants of which 683,802 are males and 662,518 females, the proportion of lamas should be one for every 26 males. However, the computation is very confused, because of the lack of figures for the lama population in minor lamaseries and the addition of new territories, and it is impossible to find out the number of lamas in the former prefecture of Hsining, on which my own computation was based. The article by Mr. Wang gives a better insight into the number of lamas and their proportion in relation to the entire male population of the province, and one which is notably smaller than the proportion usually cited by travelers. Although all census returns are always an estimate, especially in the Orient, the study by Mr. Wang is very interesting, because for the very first time in history we have an approximate census of the population and of the lamas in 1948.

CENTERS FOR RECRUITING LAMAS IN HUANG-CHUNG

San-ch'uan, the fertile territory assigned to the Li 175 T'u-ssu during the Ming period, is renowned for the 792 recruiting of lamas. A saying goes: "*Shan-hsi ti k'o-wa, San-ch'uan ti lama*" meaning, "Shan-hsi [province] is the most prolific in merchants, and San-ch'uan

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[3] Sarat Chandra Dass, *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, 28, 1882.

[4] Wang Wen-han, Ch'ing-hai Meng-Tsang jen-ming chih tsung-chiao hsin-yang, in the review *Pien-chiang t'ung-hsun*, No. 1 : 1 and 2, 1948. [p. 55(B)]

is the most prolific in lamas." It is a known fact that of 175
old the clan of the Li T'u-ssu was fervently addicted to 792
Buddhism, and that the big monastery of Ta-Fo-ssu was built by the Li clan in Hsining during the Yüan dynasty. During the Ming dynasty a lama of the Li clan received the Karwa privilege, which still exists. The T'u kuan Hutukhtu was born in the Wang tribe, subjects of the Li clan. There are still two minor Li Living Buddhas at the monastery of Erh-ku-lung. In San-ch'uan there also live subjects of Ch'i, Na, and Kan T'u-ssu. Most of the San-ch'uan lamas like to enroll in Kumbum where the key offices are filled by them. It is a public secret that at various times friction and
disputes have arisen in Kumbum between groups of [578]
lamas competing for the possession of the lucrative offices. As the outcome of this kind of competition, the administration of Kumbum is completely in the hands of Monguor lamas.

The next center of recruitment is the Hung-nai-tzu Valley, the birthplace of the first incarnation of the famous Chang-chia Hutukhtu, and inhabited mostly by Monguors and Tibetans. It is customary among them to have only one of the brothers marry, while the others become lamas. Their devotion to having lamas
in the family goes to the extent of buying a boy for the [608]
monastery in case no male descendants are born. Several families have become extinct through lack of male descendants.

If account be taken of the number of monasteries and branches founded by Erh-ku-lung during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fervor of the Monguors for becoming lamas must have been considerable. At present, this fervor has diminished to a large extent. Many families have not provided a lama for at least two generations; the ties which bound them to the lamaseries seem to have become looser.

WAYS AND MEANS OF RECRUITMENT

A lama, possessing some wealth, likes to have a disciple who will help and serve him to his dying day, and enable him to enjoy peacefully a ripe old age. A poor lama cannot afford the luxury of a disciple. According to the regulations of 1723, a lama is allowed to have only one disciple. However, when the rule is relaxed, rich lamas may have two or three; most of the Living Buddhas have two. The lama usually tries to choose his disciple from among his nephews or from among the children of well-to-do families, which later will help to support the disciple and indirectly his master.

The choice is made before the child has reached the age of seven. If the family agrees, the lama offers a ceremonial scarf to the father and a brick of tea to the mother. The agreement cannot thereafter be retracted. At the time the child is seven or eight years of age the mother prepares a lama costume for him. On an auspicious day he is led by his father to the lamasery.

[p.56(A)]

Many parents with only one boy pass through a bad 175
time when a lama friend comes to ask for him as his 792
disciple. Once in a while the lamas are very exacting and do not hesitate to predict the most terrible calamities in case of refusal. In 1913 the old man Chao of Lu-men-chih Valley who was seventy years of age was, after twenty years, still under the influence of the prediction of calamities made by a lama of Erh-ku-lung in the event he should refuse to give up his son.

A rich old Tibetan named Pao, father of an only son of six years, told me how the Living Buddha of Hsien-mi-ssu came to ask for his boy. The old man had begged the Living Buddha, prostrated himself and cried with his wife before him, for days in succession, and proposed to offer his beautiful mule, the best in the whole country, but to no avail. On the one hand the promises of blessings, and on the other the prediction of calamities, caused him to make the painful decision to offer his son.

There are children smitten with severe disease who are dedicated by their parents to the service of Buddha in the event they should recover, and children sent to the monastery by parents of large families. Very often it is difficult for these parents to find a lama who will assume the duty of caring for them, and arrangements are made between the lama and the parents concerning the support and the upkeep of the child. The bonds which tie such pupils to their masters are looser, and when they are able to stand on their own feet they try to find a way of making their own living. These are the usual ways of getting pupils. In all these cases the parents, not the children, make the decision for them to enter the monastic life. No question of vocation or willingness to devote a lifetime to the service of Buddha is considered by the children. The vocation consists of the decision by the parents and the readiness of a lama to accept the child as a pupil.

Children who are physically deformed or disabled, or children of butchers or notorious thieves are not allowed to become pupils. It is also said that children who do not care when a raven comes and sits near them are not fit for the monastic life.

However, I met an exception in Chie-bzan in 1913. A Tibetan named La, after being married for two years, living uncongenially with his wife, sold his horse, cows, and sheep, and, leaving a couple of cows and calves to his wife, became a lama at Chie-bzan.

PUPIL AND MASTER

NOVICE 175

On an auspicious day, a father arrives at the monas- 792
tery with his son. The boy presents to his master lama 571
the traditional scarf of felicity, a couple of packets of Chinese noodles, and prostrates himself nine times. The boy receives the name of his master, for lamas are not supposed to have any family. The adoption is finished, master and novice constitute one family, and

the boy will obey his master as he obeyed his parents. 175 ●
By this ceremony, which is a real adoption, the novice 772
is constituted the legal heir of the fortune of his master, 571
who usually possesses a home or a small courtyard inside the monastery, some animals, and money. The novice will stay with and serve his master his whole life, the master caring for his subsistence, keep, and education.

FIRST VOWS

After a few days, on a new auspicious day, the cere- 772
mony of the taking of the first vows is performed. In [782]
the early morning, the master himself shaves the head of his pupil. It is said that a layman is not allowed to be present at that moment. Five Gelüng [5] lamas arrive; one of them sits against the wall of the k'ang, and the other four, in pairs, sit opposite each other. The kneeling novice holds incense sticks in his hands and the Gelüng starts the ceremonial prayers, reciting the thirteen traditional vows which the novice repeats after him. Nine prostrations are given before a picture of some Buddha, and the chief of the Gelüngs makes a speech. The boy thanks the Gelüng and his master by prostrations, and the vows are taken. From that time on the boy is called *Wendee*.[6] In some monasteries only two Gelüngs preside over the ceremony; at Seerkok, only one. The master then enters the name of his pupil in the roster of inmates of the monastery. The master alone is the judge of the aptitude and religious vocation of his pupil.

The master starts the education of his pupil by teach- 772
ing him how to arrange the house altar, sweep and 874
keep the house clean, care for the stables, collect cow dung for fuel, draw water, milk the cows, tend the animals, graze the cattle, prepare food and tea. The novice is the genuine servant of his master, a cheap laborer. However, when the novice is not engaged in domestic duties, he receives religious education from his master, which starts with the study of the alphabet and reading of texts, and at the same time he repeats daily after the master and commits to memory the texts recited in the head temple. When he has learned them he is allowed to attend the morning ceremonies and to share the benefit of hot tea every day, to partake of the many meals, fixed according to the calendar of the monastery, and participate in the distribution of the alms.

Memorizing is the most important point in the program of studies. Later on, the master helps his pupil to read and to commit to memory the texts used at funerals, for diseases, to protect the herds, the harvest, etc., because these texts will help him to make a living in the future. Every morning the pupil recites the prepared texts before his master. During his spare time, when he is not engaged in domestic duties, he has to ripe old age, with the result that they turn out to be 792 steady and sound business men, wearing religious clothes. Necessarily, the precepts and rules of the monastic life come more often to be honored in the breach than in the observance, and so the lamas drag each other down hill.

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[5] L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge, W. Heffer, 1934.

[6] *Ibid.*, 171, Ge-nen-Bandi-Rab-bzun—Gelüng.

COMMUNITY OF LAMAS

How does a lamasery control its members and provide for their education? This is done through two organizations, the community of the lamas and the colleges or faculties.

Lamaseries have to control their lamas because they are responsible to the Chinese Government for the crimes and injustices caused by their members. Many lamas not dependent on any lamasery live in the country dressed as lamas and earn their own living, and do not involve any lamasery in the troubles they might cause.

In order to become a member of a lamasery, the name of the applicant must be entered on the roll of the organic community of the lamas. This carries with it permission to live in the monastery, to share its benefits and support, and to become a member of any college. The organic community of the lamas administers the entire lamasery; it fixes the rules observed by all the lamas of the institution; it sees to their observance and inflicts punishment for infractions. The community of the lamas is the hub around which the entire lamasery revolves. It possesses its own wealth and has its independent administration, as has been explained (p. [42]] 38). The main temple of the lamasery is its property and in it all the lamas have to convene in the early morning to read texts. Every time the main temple is destroyed (as by revolts or fire), the organic community of the lamas must rebuild it.

In December, 1912, the vast temple of Kumbum dis- 175 ●
appeared in a furious blaze after the morning conven- 792
tion of the lamas. The adjacent temple, containing the [42]]
dried trunk of the fabulous tree, was preserved, but the entire precious library, splendid old tapestries, precious embroidered streamers, paintings, the large Buddha painting, 21 meters in length and 15 meters in width, which was hung every year on the mountain at the festival, two enormous butter lamps of massive silver, the entire wardrobe and masks used in the theatrical performances, silver *chortens* containing the ashes of celebrated Living Buddhas, disappeared in the blaze. The guardians of the temple disappeared at full speed. Devoted old lamas testified that Tsong-khapa had punished Kumbum whose old fervor had decayed. I saw the whole community, old and young, devoutly carrying the ashes of the temple on their backs into an enclosure, because it was stated that the ashes, hallowed by the prayers said in the temple, must not be allowed to be desecrated. The intendants of the community of the lamas toured the Tibetan and Mongol countries

[p. 61(A)]

for the next two years collecting alms; Seerkok offered 175
a thousand big trees, Labrang $6,000, Erh-ku-lung 792
$1,000. After three years the temple was rebuilt.

In 1910 the same thing happened at the monastery of Chu erh under similar circumstances.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMUNITY OF THE LAMAS

FA-T'AI, CALLED "MASTER OF THE DOCTRINE" ("LOB-PON" OR "MK'AMPO")

792

The supreme chief of this independent institution is 794
the Fa-t'ai. His office is the most honorable one a 554
lama may fill. Fa-t'ais are chosen from among respectable lamas with a blameless record, celebrated for their knowledge. Not only lamas are invited to that office, but even Living Buddhas. Most of the eminent lamas in the country have been Fa-t'ais in nearly all the big lamaseries in Huang-chung. It has been recorded that a lama, even a Living Buddha, who is a member of an affiliate, never declines the invitation to fill this office at the mother house. Each college also has its own Fa-t'ai.

The office of Fa-t'ai is held for a term of three years only. The intendancy proposes to the supreme chief of the lamasery the name of the desired lama, and, on obtaining the consent of the supreme chief, sends lamas with the invitations. The Fa-t'ai lives in a beautiful residence and has as many lama servants as he desires. He is supposed to be the spiritual director of the institution which invited him, and to possess the power to reform the behavior of the lamas and to urge even stricter observance of the rules. It has been recorded how the stubborn Sumpa of Erh-ku-lung demanded in Lhasa the complete neutrality of the lamas of his community at the time when all the lamas of Lhasa prepared to participate in the civil war, and that finally the example set by him was followed by all the lamaseries of Lhasa. The same thing happened in Kumbum in 1895 at the time of the rebellion of the Moslems.
The Fa-t'ai (m'Kampo) was the Living Buddha Mina, [669]
a quiet and peaceful man, who ordered the lamas to prepare only to defend the lamasery in case of attack. However, Shertoch, another Living Buddha of Kumbum, more turbulent and still recalling the destruction of the monastery except for the temple containing the celebrated tree during the revolt of 1862–1874, stirred the lamas to attack the enemy in the Moslem stronghold of T'opa, fighting on the side of the Chinese Army. After the first attacks had been unsuccessful, and several lamas had been killed, the war party grew bitter against Mina, who had to resign the post of Fa-t'ai and for some time was in fear of his life.[10] Achia, the chief and proprietor of Kumbum must have been an irresolute man, for he did not interfere even in such critical circumstances.

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[10] Wellby, *op. cit.*, 281. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 72, 92.

[p.61(B)]

The horoscope concerning the incarnation of Chang- 175
chia was on one occasion extremely vague. "Reborn in 775
the province of Shan-hsi," it said; nothing more. Lamas, 792
after looking for six years, did not find the boy. Tired 787
and despondent, they entered a Chinese inn, at the same time that a boy seven years old was returning from school. He looked at the lamas, and never having seen lamas before he started laughing. His mother immediately said, "It is the very first time I ever saw my boy laughing that way." Suspicion arose in the hearts of the lamas. They asked the lady for lodging for the night, but she flatly refused. The boy implored his mother again and again to allow them to stay. Then the lamas understood, the boy was the incarnation. They knelt before him, offering the ceremonial scarf of yellow satin, and acknowledging him as their Living Buddha. The boy smiled in the most happy way. They presented the traditional scarf to the Chinese parents, who refused to let the boy go because he was their only son. Finally, when 5,000 taels of silver were promised, the parents agreed. The lamas bought two fine mules and a cart, and returned with their Living Buddha to Erh-ku-lung.

The young Living Buddha Li had been dead five years, and the horoscope revealed he would reincarnate this time in a certain family Li. On the twenty-fourth of the fourth month, in the village of Li-chia-t'ai in the Naring Valley, there was a festival at the San-pao temple. The old Li Living Buddha, a venerable old man, adored in the country, attended the festival, as he had done for many years. All the children fled upon his arrival. Squatting on the ground in front of a big tent, he talked with the crowd. A poor boy, clothed in rags, ingenuously came close to the old man, whose beads he twisted around his tiny arms. Finally he sat in the old man's lap, and the old man understood and placed a red ribbon around his neck.

When he got back home, the intendancy decided that the genuine incarnation had been found. Lamas were sent to congratulate the parents, and to offer the ceremonial scarf. The Li T'u-ssu, the elders of the village, and the maternal uncle of the boy were invited to make preparations for the installation of the new Living
Buddha. The intendancy prepared a dinner and the [431]
guests decided that 500 taels should be offered to the parents; a silk gown and velvet boots to the grandfather; a long coat to the maternal uncle; a long coat in flowered silk to the Li T'u-ssu, chief of the clan; a mare and a Peking saddle to the father; a beautiful cow to the mother, and 30 ounces of tea to each of the other members of the family.

The next day the village offered a dinner. Thirty 175
lamas arrived on horseback to lead the boy to his in- 775
tendancy. On the way, two small groups of lamas on 792
horseback were waiting to congratulate the boy, offering the scarf and prostrating themselves. The next day, before the dinner prepared by the intendancy, the boy was led to the temple where texts were read and the

[p.67(B)]

whole community lavishly entertained. The guests 175 were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 795 taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. 792 Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 [4-31] taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living 792 Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid 871 procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living [5/1] Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason

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villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to 772
Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his 831
exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be [762]
evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations.

The reform by means of serious study, however, [185]
seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the
present times. Among so many Monguor Living Bud- 772
dhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of 461
Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living.

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school 772
has been established by the rich monasteries, in order 871
to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29]

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[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers [772
there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought
to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally [771]
recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of 175]
their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible."

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

[p.72 (B)]

More has been done by the chiefs and elders of the 792
villages in promoting justice, creating respect for elders, 626
restoring peace in families, defending the position of the 888
women, preventing adultery, punishing the faults of the youngsters, and making the families happy than by the lamas.

I felt really happy to encounter among this tremendous number of lamas the single exception of the old Living Buddha Li, who in the fasting exercises taught the older people to crave pardon for their faults and to pray, and to hear them say that they were happy to have heard comforting words from the mouth of the old man.

V. THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

GENERAL ASPECTS AND FORMER CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

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175

In Huang-chung, there are not only lamas of the Yellow Sect, the reformed sect of Tsong khapa, but also of the Red Sect, which still adheres to the rules observed before the reform. The red lamas marry, and live, scattered over the country, with their wives and children. They till their fields and raise cattle, indulge in wine and tobacco, eat garlic and nearly all kinds of meat. They perform their rites when invited by the people and live under the direction of a superior, who has far less power over them than the superior of the yellow lamas has over his subjects.

At home they wear the dress of the lay people; when [292]
performing rites they wear the usual lama dress—a red gown, the red hat, and a shade before the eyes, adorned with fringes of the five ritual colors. They use the same ritual paraphernalia as the lamas of the Yellow
Sect, but they like to use a drum made of two skulls, [534]
and to blow a trumpet made of a human thigh bone; they recite their own texts. They seem to lay stress on the cult of water springs. All of them have the duty to perform the Rite of the 108 Springs, which lasts for 129 days, at least once in their lifetime. Some among them perform this rite two or three times. Well versed in magic, they are capable of performing not only the rites performed by the Yellow lamas, but also many other rites prohibited for the Yellow lamas.

All the lamas of Huang-chung belonged to the Red Sect in former times. The lamas of Ch'ü-t'an, the Nang-suo, Karwa lamas, the Dhyana family lamas, the lamas belonging to small monasteries or hermitages,

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abstinence from carnal desires, liquor, and he enforced the rules [792
of moral discipline. However, he did not denounce the images 771
worshipped by the old sect, representing men and women in 175]
offensive postures, but gave to them a new interpretation of an abstract nature. . . . Externally the two sects do not differ much from each other." And on p. 434: "I am compelled to say that Lamaism has fallen, and that it has assumed a form quite contrary to that to which its great reformer Tsong Khapa elevated it, and I am sincerely sorry for this degeneration."

[p. 73(A)]

the lamas living secluded in the mountains, all indulged 795
in magic. It is not known when most of them went 792
over to the Yellow Sect, perhaps between 1600 and 175
1723; nor is it known when the first lamas of the Yellow Sect penetrated the country, diffusing the reform. If account were taken of the date 1560, when a small hermitage of ten Yellow lamas started at Kumbum, and developed slowly; and the date of 1604 when Erh-kulung humbly began, it may be presumed that until that time the Red Sect was the only one prevalent in Huang-chung, living a precarious existence owing to the intermittent inroads and revolts in the country. Only
after Gushi Khan had conquered Tibet in 1636 and [648]
offered it to the Dalai Lama and after the Ch'ing dynasty (1644) had established the supremacy of the Yellow Sect, and the hated rival sects had been enfeebled, can it be assumed that the Yellow Sect entered a period of success in Huang-chung.

It was often said that, after the encounter of Altan Khan with the Dalai Lama in Kukunor (1577), where Altan proclaimed the Yellow Sect the official religion of the Mongols, and built a temple, the sect started diffusing on a large scale in Huang-chung. This assumption is hard to prove on account of the hatred fostered against the invading Mongols, and the disturbances in the country, for in 1591 the Monguor troops with the Chinese Army burned to the ground the temple built by Altan fifteen years before,[1] and the Mongol, Nairamdahu, persecuted the Yellow Sect in Kukunor in 1633.

PRESENT CONDITIONS OF THE RED SECT IN HUANG-CHUNG

795

The conditions under which the Red lamas lived 794
during the Ming period, in the always disturbed country, seem to have been akin with those under which they now live in the region north of the Hsining River. A small number of them are encountered in villages there. Lamas of several villages, constituting a small group, choose from among them a chief, who holds the position for one year. They possess their own small temple where, four times a year, they gather for seven days in order to read their texts, perform their rites, and discuss their own topics with their chief. Some of them have a pupil who receives training from his master. Each of them tries to be invited by the people to perform rites that are paid for. Not having a monastery or a Living Buddha, the institution lacks a backbone.

After 1642, when the Yellow Sect started the prac- 175
tice of Living Buddhas in Huang-chung and developed 795
its strong organization, two of the most important Red groups south of the Hsining River, where the Red lamas were more numerous, managed to have their own Living Buddhas. In the group of Goorong bzan near

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[1] *Annals* of Hsining, ch. 31, 18*b*.

175 795 Sha-ch'ung, and the group of Kan-cha Valley which had living Buddhas, the original temple yard became a monastery, and the loose group thus got a chief invested with authority over his subjects and wielding influence in the country.

The small groups of Red lamas north of the Hsining River, however, had no Living Buddha. Twice a year they invited the Living Buddha of Kan-cha, and four times a year went to Kan-cha, in order to attend their rites, but for a long time now the Living Buddha has only been invited every two or three years, and the lamas seldom go to Kan-cha—all the more since Kan-cha, being in a state of dilapidation, has lost its attractiveness. It had been destroyed by the Moslems in 1868–1872, and its important library of printing blocks was burned; it has not yet been restored.

[792] The monastery of Goorong bzan, however, is flourishing. The Living Buddha is a strong personality bristling with activity. Acknowledged as the most learned Living Buddha, all over the country, even by the lamas of the Yellow Sect, he is trying to restore the former glory of the Red Sect. His difficulties with the lamasery of Sha-ch'ung, and his intentions to restore and occupy the monastery of Ta-fo-ssu, situated in the center of the city of Hsining, have been recorded. His monastery is in fine shape, the temples are as beautiful as most of the temples of the Yellow Sect. Four times a year more than two hundred of his red lamas convene for seven days, for the reading and explanation of texts, and the performance of their rites. Goorong and the dignitaries of the monastery preside over the convention in the same way as those of the Yellow Sect.

[648] Tibetans like to make pilgrimages to his lamasery and offer their donations. It is a well-known fact in Huang-chung that among the Red lamas there are more learned men than among the Yellow lamas. However, the bulk of them are only versed in the recitation of the texts used at the performance of their rites, and possess only a smattering of knowledge in their religion. They attach an unusual importance to the strictest observance of all the rites during their performances. Their religious training seems to be directed in that way, for they claim that the slightest omission or error in the rites and in the recitation of the texts completely spoils the efficacy of the rite.

795 792 The subject of the different kinds of Red Sects and the deities honored in their temples may be passed over here, because it has been dealt with by many authors. The peculiar feature of the Red lamas' institution in Huang-chung is the only subject of our study.

Among the Red Living Buddhas, the son succeeds the father, as the Living Buddha. Goorong, a tall, upright man of immense strength, hard as nails, begot nine sons from his two wives. Four of his sons are Living Buddhas, three of them in Red monasteries south of the Yellow River. Goorong is called the father of the Living Buddhas. He is a modern man, who has visited

of Yang-k'ou-erh, who belonged to the Yellow-Sect, 795
was a Red lama. Such anomalies happen because 792
family ties closely knit the members of both sects. The father of the intendant of the lamasery of Ch'ie bzan, which belongs to the Yellow Sect, was a Red lama, and the father of the novice of the intendant, also. I met four lamas of the Yellow Sect, pupils of a learned lama of the Red Sect, who boarded at his home.

At the monastery of Hsien-mi, the father of a young 175 ●
lama of the lamasery, which belongs to the Yellow 795
Sect, was a Red lama. One night, in my presence, he unbosomed his grudge against the supreme chief of the lamasery who had refused permission for his Red Sect to build a temple on the property of the lamasery. "Our sect," he said, "is as the ear of the wheat plant, and the Yellow Sect is as its straw. We occupied the country and diffused our Sect long before the Yellow Sect was born. Our scriptures are so numerous that a man cannot finish reading them during a lifetime. The Emperor Ch'eng-tsu, of the Yung-lo period (1403–24), granted us extensive properties—and then came the Emperor K'ang-hsi, who protected the Yellow Sect and oppressed our Sect." These facts reveal the frame of mind of both sects, and their mutual behavior in Huang-chung.

Although the lamas of the Red Sect constitute a small minority, scattered over the country, and possess only two Living Buddhas, they exert an important influence and play a considerable part in the religious life of the Monguors.

THE RITE OF THE 108 SPRINGS

In order to give an insight into the real psychology of 792
the lamas of the Red Sect, and their attitude toward 795
magic, the Rite of the 108 Springs will be described. 789
It is performed in order to acquire magical power.

The lamas living north of the Hsining River practice the Rite of the 108 Springs at least once in their life. Those among them who have enacted it two or three times are considered by the Monguors as the most potent. It is said that very few lamas of the Yellow Sect are interested in the rite, although serious lamas of the Yellow Sect told me many times that the T'u-kuan Hutukhtu had enacted the rite together with a Red lama, after the Bumkhang he built seemed ineffective, and the troubles in his lamasery had upset him. I could hardly believe it, because the rite is not enacted to honor or to get the protection of spirits of the springs, but is thoroughly magical, and its aim, according to the lamas of both sects, is the increase of magical abilities. At any rate, because the lamas of the Red Sect all practiced it, and are said to be bound to enact the rite, it sheds a true light upon the fundamental character of the lamas of the Red group, who seem to be as fond of magic as the shamans.

Springs of water are situated mostly at the foot of [823]
mountains, in deep valleys, and in lonely spots which

the hair coiled inside the cap. All the shamans wear 756
the pigtail, which they coil when performing rites. 292
302

> Traditional pictures of Taoist saints show that these worthies were wont to wear their hair in a knot on the top of the head. The Manchu Tartars conquered China and compelled the people to adopt their coiffure and shave their [175] heads except on the top, where it was allowed to grow long and be braided as a pigtail. The *sai kung*, like the whole nation, had to submit to this order, but with pious conservatism they have preserved the ancient orthodox fashion on behalf of their altar service; that is to say, while officiating they coil their hair into a knot upon their heads and cover the shaven part around it with a wig of braided human hair.[21]

The Monguor shamans, however, do not wear the wig.

> The Manchus not only preserved their traditional style of [648] dress and haircut, they even compelled Chinese men during the period of invasion to adopt Manchu dress, shave their heads, and grow the queue. This enforced change was so bitterly resented by the Chinese that many times they chose rather to die, or lose their heads, than obey the Tartars in these ceremonies. The literary inquisition launched during the Ch'ien-lung period reveals that, in the eighteenth century, a Chinese who yearned for the old cap and garments was still considered a dangerous rebel.[22]

The second headdress has the form of a sack, of black cloth, tightly bound around the head. A tail, three feet in length, is fixed on this cap. Plaited with red rope around a twisted black rope of cloth, the tail which is thin at the bottom and thick at the end, is rolled on the head, but released when the shaman is executing acrobatic evolutions.

The third one is a crown, in form like the *chod pon* of the lamas,[23] divided in front into five parts, bearing a crude picture of the god of the five roads, the Wu-tao-shen, whose disciples the shamans claim to be. (Shamans never wear a crown with the five Dhyani Buddhas; their antagonism toward Lamaism is too pronounced to do that; they never will perform rites in a Buddhist temple of the village.)[24]

THE DRUM

The drum is one of the important implements of a 756
shaman. It is used to invoke the spirits during the per- 534
formance of the rites; the spirits enter into it and ritual dances are performed in time with the beat. Every shaman has his own drum, and generally another in reserve. Upon the death of the shaman his drum is buried with him in the coffin, for it is a personal object. The [766]
boy apprentices receive a drum of smaller dimensions from their father, on the day of their dedication to the twelve spirits. Apprentices who receive part of their 000

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[21] J. J. M. De Groot, *The religious systems of China* **6**: Bk. II: 1267, 1910, Leiden, Brill.

[22] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* **36**: 12, 1949. However, the Chinese were required to change to Manchu dress at the insistence of a Chinese official. See S. Cammann, *China's dragon robes;* 21, Leiden, Brill, 1952.

[23] Alexandra David-Neel, *Mystiques et magiciens du Tibet*, 92, Paris, Plon, 1929.

[24] Eliade, *op. cit.*, 148, Importance of the cap.

[p.83(B)]

the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults 756
of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), 776
Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu 171
(provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly.

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of 175
their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert be- 776
fore the public that they are the real disciples of the 756
god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter.

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

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[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

[p. 85(A)]

Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. 776
Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 756
109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller 175
than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three 756
rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or 778
brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard 776
are another three or more rooms for storage of all 346
kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the 532
kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depict- 756
ing the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but 776
associated with other gods. In the central panel the 346
god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary 532
fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

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[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

[p.85(B)]

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more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were 628
added to them.[56]

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs 756
followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction 175
of shamanism: The Monguor shamans must have 795
known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among 575
barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the 756
Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, [776]
spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests

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[56] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29-35, 1929. [p 90(A)]

the chief of the village asks him or her whether "Heaven and all the spirits" will really preserve the crops. 782 789

At times of epidemics, epizootics, and big calamities, the same rite is performed. However, at that time the rite is performed on the sacred mountain of the village. This rite, in which elements of Lamaism and shamanism are intermixed with profusion, performed on a high mountain under the dome of heaven by the chief of the village without representatives of any religion, seems to recall the times when the chiefs of the families and of the tribes were the priests of the religion. [781]

CALL OF THE GODDESSES ON THE GOD ERH-LANG

An unusual practice, peculiar to the thirteen villages situated in the Sha-t'ang Valley, which have a goddess in the sedan chair, is to be recorded. The inhabitants of the thirteen villages are Monguors who had left their T'u-ssu and had become subjects of Erh-ku-lung before 1723, and then became Chinese subjects after the revolt and renounced their identity to the extent of speaking only the Chinese language, although they know pretty well that their ancestors were Monguors. However, their wives, who have abhorred dressing in the Monguor fashion, are even today upon death laid out in the coffin dressed in the famous Monguor skirt, because, they say: "How would it be possible to meet the ancestors after death, without wearing the Monguor skirt!"[9] 175 177

On the fifth of the fourth moon, a group of thirty strong young folk of each village goes to the Hsiao nan ch'uan (little south spring) carrying the goddess of their temple (Niang-Niang) sitting in the sedan chair, wearing her beautiful mantle, earrings and bracelets, in order to have her greet the god Erh-lang in his temple and spend a night with him. The tradition requires that the thirty youngsters observe strict continence for twenty-one days before the trip, and restrain themselves from indulging in drinking wine and eating garlic, leeks, and onions. According to the old Monguor custom, they plait into their pigtails a tassel of green cotton cords and wrap their heads with red cloth, in order to be insulated against all kinds of noxious influences of evil spirits. Each of them carries a strong club, the upper part of which is wrapped in red cloth for the same reason. The irregularity of this unusual practice is due to the fact that while today genuine Monguors do not observe this tradition, these groups of renegade Monguors are eager to stick to it, asserting that it is a genuine old Monguor custom. The Chinese in the country, however, do not practice the custom.[10] [792] 796 782 [784]

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[9] I never could get the explanation for the unusual fact that these thirteen villages had become the proprietors of their own fields, or the reason for which Erh-ku-lung had sold them to them, liberating them from all obligations to the monastery.

[10] The Chinese practice a similar rite. In order to obtain rain during the time of persistent droughts, they make a pilgrimage, barefooted, with willow twigs twisted around their heads, to caves dedicated to the goddess Kuan Yin, where there is a [171]

[p102(A)]

of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782
powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [882]
stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to restrain their savage nature.

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795
not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175
Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795
made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it."[11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795
the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776
try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795
territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778
the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

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[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 37[illegible] 1954.

[p. 112 (B)]

the old Li, I understood that for a people endowed with 771
these religious convictions, Om Manis were the sheet 785
anchor when things got stormy, and that they could fall 869
on their knees and crave for pardon for their sins and pray, when Hailstorms mistreated their means of subsistence.

Probably the fast exercises were, at that time, one of the mightiest means for promoting the religious feeling inherent in Lamaism. Although the lamas never preach for laymen, in the monasteries, and although a lama only has a talk with them once in a while about religion, and although there are no schools run by lamas, the people knew by means of these fasting exercises that an all-powerful being exists whom the lamas call Buddha, who is all benevolence and goodness, and ready to forgive and to help. They knew the difference between the good Buddhas and the spirits, among which some were really evil beings trying to harm them, and others were so touchy that a trifle could upset them. They knew that a terrible omniscient judge of death exists who controls heaven and the eighteen hells, who decides about their future, according to their acts. They knew that at death their existence was not finished.

However, if account be taken also of what the shamans say at the feasts of the communities and the magical performances enacted by them in behalf of the community and private families, their savage struggle with evil spirits, the ownership of the country and the villages by powerful spirits, the cult of the ancestors subject to decay, the importance of the hearth god and all the spirits who are considered to administer independently their own departments, with punishments or blessings, who are supposed to know the acts of the people and their feelings toward them, it is easy to understand also why a tremendous confusion should exist in their religious thought processes, and why they should act according to the circumstances in unforeseen and confusing ways.

PRODIGALITY OF THE MONGUORS CONCERNING CULT AND RELIGION 175

In 1914 a strong group of four or five hundred lamas, 792
clad in rags and dirt, passed through the city of Hsining on the way to Seerkok. They were lamas of the Yellow Sect, belonging to different lamaseries situated south of the Yellow River. The whole country was upset. Rumors were spread concerning an impending revolt, organized by the lamas against the newly established Chinese Republic. Spies were sent all over the country in order to discover clues. After a few days the officials announced that the group had been invited by Seerkok in order to pray for blessings upon the Republic.

The fear of the lamas turned after a few days into a reputation for fantastic sainthood, and Monguors and Tibetans ran to Seerkok in order to offer gifts. The richest families competed with each other to provide the expenses for entertaining for one day these saintly

lamas, whose prayers secured the remission of sins and 175
peace in the families, and assured entrance into the 792
paradise of Buddha. The ceremonies lasted for forty-five days and were attended by an immense crowd. All the expenses of the forty-five days were defrayed by rich families. Every day, the intendant told me, ten thousand butter lamps were lit; four hundred pounds of butter were required for the lamps and the meals of the lamas; ten bricks of tea were needed, fifteen sheep, sixty pounds of vegetable oil, flour of roasted spelt, raisins, and sugar for five hundred lamas. Moreover, every day each of them received alms of one dollar.

Their morning meal consisted of milk, tea, butter and *tsamba.*[14] At noon they received butter tea, and rolls baked in vegetable oil. At evening they were served noodles and meat or meat prepared with rice, sugar, and raisins. The entire community of Seerkok had a good time together with the saintly guests, and the monastery reaped valuable benefits. This fact gives an insight into the unusual prodigality displayed by the Monguors and Tibetans when cult and religion are concerned.

At the time of the big festivities celebrated at the monasteries in the country, the rich families are accustomed to compete with each other to defray the expenses, and to entertain the entire community of the lamas. Then the devoted donor, seated on a reviewing stand with his whole family and his relatives, enjoys the ritual representations and receives, before the faithful audience, the blessings of the Living Buddha, the red knotted ribbon on [illegible] neck, and the gracious touch of the rod to which a *khata* is attached, and the scarf of felicity put on his shoulders. Manguru, the rich Tibetan who had succeeded in winning his suit against the well-known Living Buddha Temma, the bridge builder, presiding over the ceremony, defrayed the expenses of such a festival at Erh-ku-lung immediately after his victory. He was admired and celebrated by the crowd.

Rich families, being really devoted to Lamaism, offer substantial alms to the monasteries and entertain the lamas lavishly with tea, *tsamba,* sheep, rice, sugar, and raisins, at the death of an elder member of the family, and several times during the year. This custom is not unusual because most of the families have relatives among the lamas, and the rich like to enjoy the reputation of being prodigal toward the monasteries.

CELEBRATION OF THE CYCLE OF AGE

GENERAL RITE

The Chinese, for many centuries, have been ac- 527
customed to having a celebration at the completion of their cycle of age, which is sixty years.[15] The Mon-

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[14] *Tsamba*—parched barley flour, eaten in the form of dough made into balls, with butter tea.

[15] Yeh Te-lu, The celebration of the Emperor's Birthday during the T'ang dynasty *Fu-jen Hsueh-chih,* 125, 1939. A birthday was not considered an occasion for congratulations and rejoicing in ancient China. The celebration began only with

[p, 137(B)]

THE THIRD SOUL

The behavior of the Monguors toward this soul illus- 774
trates the basic approach prevailing all over Asia to the 775
problem of the soul. The Monguors care more for this 764
soul than for the other two because they are afraid of it. It becomes after death a kind of demon, ill-disposed toward its own family, harming its cattle and its wealth. This assumption is evidenced by their unkind attitude toward it, an attitude which shocks us. When the corpse is carried out of the courtyard, the lamas and the members of the family who are still in the courtyard, cry: "Do not come back and harm us, forget us forever and go to dwell elsewhere." The evening before the cremation, after all the guests have left, having said with devotion their Om Mani for a long time, the lamas immediately brutally chase the soul out of the courtyard and all the rooms. At the very moment of the cremation, the master of ceremonies makes the last traditional speech, before the oven, addressing the corpse: "We lavishly spent money and performed all the possible rites for your well-being, now go away and never come back to disturb us or to harm us.[23] Forget us forever; we will pray for you and make offerings." The fear of the departed is a real obsession. Most of the harm suffered is ascribed to them. Many of the deceased are supposed to be peculiarly fiendish and are buried in special cemeteries, where the shamans have to be invited to keep them quiet. They like to live in lonely spots and empty ruined houses, and have to be fed, because when they become hungry they are dangerous.

However, all the distinctions concerning the three souls, based on observed facts and customs, do not bother the average Monguors. They do not care for the nature of these three souls, how long they live, when they will vanish—all they know is that they leave the body at death. However, they are accustomed to feed the souls of three generations. They do not care to which, among the three souls, offerings are made at the time of the spring rites performed by the shaman, or at the time of the cult of the family deity, or on their own graves a few days before the worshipping of the ancestor of the clan. Even the lama or shaman, calling back the soul of a sick man, calls all three of them back.

CEMETERIES

Since the submission of the Monguors to the Ming 175
dynasty (in 1368), the chief of each of the groups, re- 764
ceiving the title and duty of T'u-ssu, became the ancestor-founder of his group. Their pictures then began to occupy the center of the new ancestral hall. The family register began with their name, and their grave became the head mound, which today is seen in all the old cemeteries where the yearly worship of the ancestors is held. T'u-ssu never have been cremated.[24]

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[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos, op. cit.*, 130. Louis M. Kervyn, *Mœurs et coutumes Mongols*, 211, Genbloux, Duculot, 1947.

[24] Schram, Part I: 59–70. [p. 142(A)]

On the death of the first T'u-ssu his eldest son succeeded, 175 764 and the others became the founders of Junior "houses." Some of them immediately built their own cemetery, and others later. When cemeteries had no more room, some branches of noble families again built new cemeteries, and so on. The richest among the commoners followed the example set by the nobles, and buried the remains of the bones, after cremation, in their own cemetery. Many ceased to practice cremation. The Chinese enrolled in the clans had always buried their dead in their cemeteries, and now many Monguors have their own cemeteries. The poor among them bury the bones remaining after cremation in a corner of their fields, or in a lonely spot. Three days before the official ancestor worship in April, each group honors its dead in its own cemetery, according to the usual rite, with prostrations, libations, offerings, and a sacrificial meal. It is on that day that the bones remaining after cremation of the persons of their family who died during the year are buried in their cemeteries, and the names of the deceased are entered in the family register.

What happened to the dead of the Monguors during the Yüan period (1280–1368) is not at present known. Some people say that the dead were buried in lonely places, that cemeteries did not exist, and no further offerings were made for the dead, after burial. Later, during the Ming, only two clans, the Ch'i and the Lu, built inside their mansion garden a big mound with a spacious room where the coffins of the later T'u-ssu are conserved.[25]

The whole clan of the Li T'u-ssu never bury their 764 dead in the third and the eighth months; these months are said to be fateful for them on account of Lu Men-cheng. I never could get an explanation either of this fact or of Lu Men-cheng.

DIFFERENT MODES OF DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

The enrollment of Chinese in the clans, the examples set by the T'u-ssu and the chiefs of the houses, the impact of the Chinese culture from which the Monguors became less and less insulated, and also the fact that cremation bears a tinge of dishonor among the Chinese (because it is only used for those who have caused harm to the family) led many Monguors to resort early to the burying of the dead. According to many Monguors, cremation had been introduced by the lamas, because it was a lucrative rite for them. Since in nearly every family there were lamas, the rite easily spread. However, according to other Monguors, incineration provides more benefits for the souls, while burying bears a tinge of dishonor. I was told of a Monguor woman [766] who had abandoned her husband in order to live with another man in Hung nai Valley, the man died and she

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[25] However, as will be recorded in Part III, the Lu clan, according to its family chronicle, had an ancestral cemetery in Hsi Ta-t'ung during the Yüan period. [p.142(B)]

IMPACT OF FOREIGN RELIGIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA

In dealing with these subjects, serious account must 175
be taken of the diffusion of Buddhism. At the be- 797
ginning of our era, in A.D. 148 the first translators of Buddhist scriptures arrived in Liang Chou from the oases of Turkistan, and Liang Chou became the center of Buddhist activities (Chapter II). Among the Turkic T'opa Wei people, Buddhism was diffused on a large scale. From 399 to 557 they occupied northern China and extended their power as far as the Altai. In 538, in their two provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung alone, are recorded thirty thousand temples and two million adherents to Buddhism.[22] The Turkic-Mongol tribes, settling or living as nomads along the western frontier of China from Turkistan to Manchuria, must have come in contact with Buddhism and felt its impact in different ways. The Chi'tan (of Mongol origin) who occupied northern China (907–1125) and extended their power over Inner and Outer Mongolia, professed Buddhism to the extent that in 942 the number of monks and nuns in Chih-li and Shan-tung swelled to 50,000 and in 1078, 360,000 are mentioned.[23]

However, from the seventh century on, new religious notions were also diffused in Central Asia among the nomadic tribes. In 762 the Uigurs had embraced Manicheism, and Nestorians were very numerous among them. The Kereits, a Turkic tribe living on Lake Baikal, were converted to Nestorianism in 1007. They were defeated by Chingis Khan, and submitted to him. The Öngüts, tribes of Shat'o origin who aided Chingis against the Chin in 1201, were Nestorians.[24] Around the end of the eleventh century Nestorian missionaries had already reached the Tatars living near the country which today is called Manchuria, because at least two of their chiefs bore Christian names, "Mark" and "John."[25] During the tenth and eleventh centuries many nomadic tribes in Central Asia were converted to Mohammedanism, among them the Qara-Khanides in 960, the Seljukides before 1043, and other Turkic tribes in 960 and 1043.[26]

IMPACT OF NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGOLS

The impact of these events must have been felt among 795
the peoples of Central Asia on a larger or smaller scale and in different ways. At any rate, Nestorianism af-

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[22] James R. Ware, Wei-shou on Buddhism, *T'oung Pao* **30**: 179, 1933. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1433.

[23] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 291–296. It was under the Liao dynasty that Buddhism spread to the vast eastern expanses of Inner Asia.

[24] K. S. Latourette, *A history of Christian missions in China*, 63, N. Y., Macmillan, 1929.

[25] B. Louis Hambis, Deux noms chrétiens chez les Tatar au XIme siecle, *Journal Asiatique*, 1953: 475.

[26] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[p.154(A)]

fected the imperial family of the founder of the new Mongol nation in a peculiar way. 795

Chingis, building his new nation, resorted to alliances with neighboring tribes. He married his fourth son, Tului, to the niece of Toghrul Ong Khan, chief of the powerful Nestorian Kereit tribe. The Nestorian princess bore four sons, among whom was Mönke, the fourth leader of the nation, Khubilai, who became emperor of China, and Hulagu, the ruler of Persia, who also married a Nestorian Kereit princess, the granddaughter of the same Toghrul. The latter had a chapel attached to his camp. 175 ● 646 643

Chingis married his own daughter, Alagai Beki, to Po-yao-ho, the son of the chief of the Nestorian Öngüts, who helped him conquer the Chin. Chingis was so fond of his son-in-law that he made him follow him, with Kulan the well-known favorite, in his conquest of West Turkistan and Khwarezm. The relations between the Nestorian Öngüts and the imperial family were very close. Güyük, the second successor of Chingis and leader of the nation, married his daughter to the son of Po-yao-ho, who had a Christian chapel before his tent. The emperor Khubilai married his daughter to the other son of Po-yao-ho.

No wonder that many Nestorian Kereits and Öngüts occupied important administrative posts in the new nation. Chingis himself appointed the Christians Chinkhai and Khadak, and all imperial orders had to bear the signature of Chinkhai. Two chief ministers of Güyük were Christians, as were also the physicians at court. The principal minister of Mönke was the Christian Bolgai. Protection enjoyed by the 30,000 Nestorians in China in the construction of churches and monasteries was due to the emperor, whose mother was a Nestorian and who gave his daughter to a Nestorian prince. Even so, the diffusion of Catholicism by the first missionaries was also made possible and even encouraged by him. The impact of Nestorianism upon the imperial family seems at first sight to have been unusual, but it was in fact merely a veneer overlying a shamanist underground, for soon after Chingis, the Mongol emperors practiced Lamaism to the extent that Peking became a Lamaist city.[27] O. Franke writes about the "Rabies Buddhica" of the Mongol emperors.[28] 177 797 643

Vladimirtsov writes:

> Chingis Khan introduced a definite religious idea into the political conception of his own suzerainty and of that of his clan . . . the shaman Kokchu announced that the "Everlasting Blue Sky" favored Chingis who was its own pre-ordained envoy on earth. . . . "The 'Sky' has ordered me to govern all the peoples," Chingis said. . . . 797 175 643

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[27] K. S. Latourette, *op. cit.*, 63–65. Henri Cordier, Le Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *T'oung Pao* **18**: 56–57, 197. P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extreme Orient, *T'oung Pao* **15**: 627, 1914. P. Pelliot, Les Mongols et la Papauté, *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* **23**: 4 seq., 1922–1923; **24**: 46, 1924; **28**: 169, 193–4, 199, 1931–1932. Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 307.

[28] Franke, *op. cit.* **4**: 522.

The White Banner was inhabited by the "guardian genius" 797
of Chingis, it would protect his troops and lead them to 175
victory; he would conquer all peoples, for the "Everlasting 643
Blue Sky" had so ordained.[29]

In the same way "Ahura Mazda, among the Achaemenians in Persia, [688–330 B.C.], was said to grant to the great kings their power over other peoples, and to bestow upon them victories."[30] In ancient China "Heaven" was believed either to give or withdraw the emperor's mandate.[31]

Chingis was not only religious, he was superstitious. 175
The need to know the will of "Everlasting Blue Sky" 643
and of "the guardian spirits" was a constant stimulus 771
for communing with "shamans," sorcerers, and divinators.[32] "He believed Kokchu could ascend the 'Sky' and had powerful protectors among the genii."[33] "He instituted the post of *beki* who was to be the state's chief priest, [a shaman], vested with power and officially recognized."[34] "He was fond of Ye-lü Ch'ü-tsai for he was a skillful astrologer."[35] "Chingis viewing all religions with equal favor remained himself a good shamanist, true to the traditions of his people."[36] "He remained a primitive shamanist nomad with a rudimentary sense of moral responsibility to the 'Everlasting Sky' and the 'guardian spirits' and with a fully developed instinct of acquisition."[37]

The impact of Nestorianism among the Mongols was 771
not profound. Professor N. Poppe, reviewing the study of W. Schmidt concerning the religion of the Mongols,[38] notes:

> According to the author the Mongols had monotheism and recognized Heaven as the Supreme power. Heaven was in their opinion, the lord of life and death, was eternal, immortal and omniscient (46–47). The statement about the recognition of that Supreme power by the ancient Mongols is corroborated by quotations of sayings mentioning Heaven and attributed by ancient authors to Chingis Khan, his son Ögedei, the emperors Güyük and Mönke and other historical persons. These sayings were however preserved in writings of various authors who wrote their works much later. Therefore, the question arises whether those sayings are authentic. It is possible that in a number of cases the mention of God as "the creator of the sky and earth" attributed by later writers to the Great Yasa and other documents, reflects ideas inspired in the authors by medieval European theologians, as Dr. Pallisen believes.[39]

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[29] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

[30] Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 306.

[31] H. G. Creel, *Confucious the man and the myth*, 147, New York, John Day Company.

[32] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 81.

[33] *Ibid.*, 82.

[34] *Ibid.*, 77.

[35] *Ibid.*, 105.

[36] *Ibid.*, 109.

[37] *Ibid.*, 167.

[38] *Anthropos* **48**: 327, 1953; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* **10**: 1952.

[39] Nicolaus Pallisen, Die alte Religon des mongolischen Volkes und die Geschichte des Verhältnisses der Mongolen zu anderen Religionen während der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden, 1949.

We have to take into consideration also the fact that 175
many of the historians of this Mongol period, such as 771
Rashid ed-Din (1302), Djouwayni (1260), and others, were Moslems, who might easily have been influenced by the tenets of their own religion in this matter, and have reflected these ideas in their writings.

Besides the very serious doubts concerning the authenticity of the texts, there arise problems of the value of these texts in explaining the cult of Heaven as it existed before Chingis and before the imperial family professed (?) or protected Nestorianism, and also the question of the real impact of Nestorianism inside the imperial family through cult and rites, and upon the bulk of tribes which are called Mongol. P. Pelliot states that "Nestorianism was the religion of most Turkic tribes and perhaps of a few genuine Mongols."[40]

It is common knowledge, corroborated by the testimony of travelers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[41] that the Mongols and Turks during the Yüan dynasty worshipped a host of spirits and Öngüts, and were as fervent addicts of shamanism as Chingis himself.

Professor Louis Hambis writes: "The Mongols at the time of Chingis did not honor a Supreme God, but they worshipped Heaven and Earth, and their formula for taking an oath started with an invocation to the god of heaven and to the deity of earth."[42]

René Grousset notes that: "When Chingis started with his campaign against the Naiman, he made solemn sacrifices to the Banner, in which the 'Sulde,' the protector spirits of his army, were supposed to reside."[43]

At present there exists the same confusion concerning the notion of Heaven among the Mongols of the Ordos as among the Monguors.[44] No wonder that after the overthrow of the Mongol dynasty, which had long since become thoroughly Buddhist, Nestorianism almost completely disappeared from among them.[45]

NESTORIANISM AMONG THE MONGUORS

Among the Monguors and the Chinese of the region 775
of Hsining, I never encountered any facts pointing to the possibility that Nestorianism had been practiced in former times. Yet Marco Polo (born in Venice in 1254), during his long stay in Kan chou in 1274, must have made an excursion to Hsining with his father Nicolo and his Uncle Matteo. Among many minute details concerning Hsining he records: "The population

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[40] P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, op. cit.*, 643.

[41] A. Van den Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, 231, 232, Puaracchi, Firensie, 1929.

[42] Pelliot and Hambis, *Histoire des campagnes de Gengis Khan*, 411, Leiden, Brill, 1951.

[43] Grousset, *Empire Mongol, Ire Phase, op. cit.*, 159.

[44] A Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, Peking, Catholic University, 1947.

[45] *Ibid.*, *Bull. Catholic University of Peking* 9, Nov. 1934; Ordosica; Les Erkut, descendants des Chrétiens médiévaux chez les Mongols Ordos.

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of the country consists chiefly of idolaters and some 175 Saracens, but there are some Christians also."[46] Because Marco Polo always noted very accurately the Nestorian churches he encountered on his way through Central Asia, and because he did not mention the existence of any Nestorian church in Hsining, it may be supposed that this Nestorian community must have been small, and probably consisted of some occasional traders.

Another fact led me to investigate the topic of 175 Nestorianism. 795 According to Pelliot, tribes of Öngüts (Shat'o) inhabited the Tenduc region, north of the great bend of the Yellow River. Some of these Öngüts migrated into south Kansu, in the region of Lin t'ao. They were taken prisoners by the Chin (1125–1235) and transplanted into mid-Manchuria at the beginning of the twelfth century. They were Nestorians. An apparition in a dream of the Chin emperor T'ai tsung (1125–1161) having been explained by means of images honored by these Öngüts, they were liberated and located in Ch'ing chou, north of the Yellow River.[47]

According to Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 1: 26, the Öngüts had moved there in the twelfth century from northern Mongolia. Rashid ed-Din explains that the Öngüts, being in the service of the Chin, had been appointed as wardens of the Great Wall.

The problem is, the region of Lin T'ao being contiguous with that of Hsining,[48] whether there was intermingling between the Shat'o of Lin T'ao and those of Hsining, and whether the Hsining Shat'o as a consequence, ever professed Nestorianism.

The second Shat'o dynasty, that of the Hou Chin, (936–947), was conquered by the Liao dynasty (907–1125) in 947, and its imperial family (175 persons), banished into Huang lung, north of Mukden (Manchuria). However its harem, eunuchs, and servants entered the service of the Liao emperor.[49] Then the emperor decided to enroll in his army the defeated Hou Chin troops, and to use them as wardens of the southern marches of his enlarged empire. Their families were to be moved into north Shansi as hostages, and the troops were to be granted furlough from the marches every year to visit Shansi.[50]

It seems doubtful whether these provisions were ever carried out. Ho kien, an Uigur, loyal and devoted servant of both Shat'o dynasties, governor of the Tsin, Chieh, and Ch'eng chou regions, and of the marches of southeast Kansu (contiguous to Lin T'ao), in 947, immediately after the defeat of his emperor, offered the places and the region he governed to the Lord of the Kingdom of Shu (Ssu-ch'uan), and pledged his al-

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[46] Yule-Cordier, *The book of Ser Marco Polo* 1: 274.

[47] P. Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie centrale et d'Extreme Orient, 630; Henri Cordier, Christianisme en Chine et en Asie centrale, *op. cit.*, 56.

[48] Franke, *op. cit.* 5: 113.

[49] *Ibid.* 4: 55.

[50] *Ibid.* 4: 57, 58.

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legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new 175
dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950. 795

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes 795
are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known 776
about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang- 771
chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence.

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. 795
In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no 776
notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men 775
would be rewarded for their merits or punished for 771
their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac-

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[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308–309.

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ister their clans in territories assigned by the emperor. 614
They formed a genuine enclave in a border province of 648
China. It is an enigma how they could keep their social organization for five-hundred years, conserve their traditions, and withstand being absorbed in the Chinese nation.

The Monguor clans, at the time of their submission to China, were military institutions whose families were organized into groups of 10, 100, and 1,000, each under a chief. On account of the shift from pastoralism toward an agricultural economy, villages became units governed by a chief, two military commanders, and some elders appointed by the T'u-ssu, all belonging, in the beginning, to the nobility. Military service, taxes, and corvées were fixed, and troubles among the villagers were settled by those appointed chiefs in public meetings. Appeal was possible, however, to the higher authority of the T'u-ssu, and as a last resort to the Chinese authority (see Part I: 76). The Monguors thus lived their own lives in their own organized world, under powerful chiefs; their soldiers were always ready to defend the marches on the empire.

On account of the tremendous power and influence 772
radiating from the lamasery of Erh-ku-lung and its three 614
celebrated Hutukhtus (who were personal friends of 175
the emperors and from whom they received territorial grants), between 1604 and 1723 many subjects of the T'u-ssu, lured by better conditions of tenantry, became subjects of the lamaseries, exempt from taxes and corvées imposed by the Chinese officials. The clan chiefs willy-nilly had to comply with this situation and in order to retrieve their material assets, and to have tenants till their soil, and taxpayers and soldiers, they had to enroll Tibetans and Chinese in their clans.

The double damage wrought to the Monguor clans by 614
this situation became peculiarly conspicuous after the 177
revolt of 1723. Those Monguors who, lured by the 175
hope of better economic conditions, had become subjects of lamaseries, Nang-suos, and Karwas and continued to live as Monguors, segregated from the Chinese, to wear their Monguor dress, keeping their family customs and traditions in marriage, burial, and other festivities, but under lama chiefs instead of clan chiefs. After 1723 their social conditions changed entirely. Becoming Chinese subjects, they could not be reintegrated in their old clans and found themselves isolated in a new world without cohesion or support, and burdened with taxes and corvées. They started to speak Chinese, adopt the Chinese style of dress, marry Chinese girls, be buried according to the Chinese rites. Such was the classical case of the thirteen villages of the Sha-t'ang Valley, which before 1723 depended on Erh-ku-lung. The bulk of the defections among the Monguors was caused by their first becoming subjects of lamaseries, and later being thrown into the hands of Chinese officials, where they lacked the support of their former chiefs and religion. These groups of Monguors re-

canted their origin. They still know pretty well that 614
their ancestors were Monguors, however, and after two- 177
hundred years, the women, at death, still have to be 175
laid out in the coffin in the Monguor skirt. "Chinese" of such origin always remained addicted to shamanism and Lamaism, notwithstanding the fact that they also built Taoist temples and supported Taoist priests.

The second thing which turned the Monguor society upside down after 1723 was the improvement of material conditions. Peace and stability having been assured, and areas for expansion having been opened to agriculture, more Chinese moved into the country, commerce started to develop and flourish. New markets were opened by the Chamber of Commerce of Hsining, connected with those of the capital of the province. The Monguors, inpoverished by the previous chronic inroads of Mongols and Tibetans and the recent revolt, were now more prosperous. Many Monguor commoners became rich, even richer and more influential than many member of the nobility, and they began to be appointed chiefs of villages, military commanders, and elders. The nobility correspondingly lost influence and prestige. Because there were Chinese among the commoners, the way of thinking, settling troubles, and administering the villages became more and more Chinese.

The intercourse of the Monguors with the Chinese 177
became more intensive through commercial relations. 614
The richest Monguors started sending their boys to Chinese schools, marrying Chinese girls, who abhorred the dress of the Monguor women, and refused to speak the Monguor language. More and more Monguors, under the impact of Chinese culture, were ashamed of being called barbarians and preferred to claim to be Chinese. Long since, the chiefs of the clans, the T'u-ssu, had set the example by marrying Chinese girls, to such an extent that many among them were unable to speak the language of their subjects. Nationalism in language never having existed among them, the Chinese language began to be used indiscriminately at the village meetings and at the performance of religious rites by shamans and lamas. All official documents were written in Chinese, and so nearly all Monguors understood [191]
and spoke the Chinese language but used their Monguor language when conversing among themselves. However, they remained members of the Monguor clans, even though the Chinese officials did not prevent them from abandoning their clan chiefs with the same rigidity as in former times. They conserved their old customs and traditions and the old social organization.

What was the reason for these facts? On the one 771
hand, the economic benefits attached to the T'u-ssu in- 614
stitution are to be taken into serious consideration. However, on the other hand, the religious factor is not to be overlooked. The entire fabric of the Monguor social organization was woven in an atmosphere of religion which caused them to remember that they were

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[For historical data, see category 116, pp. 3-4, 6-116.]

province, and T'u-ssu Wang to accompany General 175
Mu Yin to Kan and Su Chou to fight the unfaithful 648
Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa. Two hundred of his soldiers 619
were taken prisoner. Then the army proceeded to Ch'ih Chin in the Gobi where the Mongol Prince I-lien-cheng, his seal and tribes, were captured (*Annals* of Kansu ?: 42*a–b*, 40*a*, 48*b*).

T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh induced the Tibetan chiliarch A-pu to surrender, and in the fourth moon he fought the Tibetan chief I-lin-cheng-pen (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 10*b*).

At the death of the Mongol emperor in 1378, T'o ku-ssu had succeeded to the throne in Mongolia. He was soon on the warpath, mustering two armies in order to invade China, one in the Gobi at Karakorum, and one in North China at Yin Ch'ang. The army at Karakorum suffered a severe defeat at the hand of General Mu Yin in 1380, but the army of Yin Ch'ang was making inroads in Liaotung province.[72]

In 1380 T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was called to court and ordered to arrive at Peking with his troops to stem the forays of the Ying Ch'ang brigands of the emperor. At the same time he was granted the title of Hsuan-wei general and the hereditary office of Chih Huei ch'ien shih in Hsining. He fought the brigands at Chin Shan Ssu, at Huo Ho, Yung P'ing, Su Chou, etc. His troops were victorious everywhere. He came back to Hsining after the capture of Na ha ch'u in 1387 (*Annals* of Hsining 27: 9*b*; *Annals* of Kansu 42: 44*b*).

SURRENDER OF TRIBES IN HUANGCHUNG

Two years after the establishment of the exchange bureau the submission of nine Tibetan tribes is recorded
in the *Annals* of Hsining, chapter 16. It is hard to [563]
find out which among them were Tibetan, Shat'o, or Uighur tribes. At the time of the surrender of Li Nan-ko with the officials of Hsining in 1371, only thirteen tribes had submitted (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 1*b*), and the names of the tribes are not recorded. It may be assumed that the reiterated invitations conveyed by the t'u-ssu to the chiefs of tribes by order of the emperor during eight years had reaped small success. Now, however, the fascination of the profits attached to the tea market had stimulated the tribes to surrender.

In the northern part of Hsining the submission of two tribes is noted.

The Pa sha tribe lived in tents on a territory larger than 500 square li, situated more than 100 li north of Hsining on the borders of the Tat'ung River. It controlled the Tsan-tsa tribes, the Ssu-erh-ssu-ko and many small tribes (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 7*b*).

The Pa Wa tribe were also nomads, living next to the Pa sha tribe on the borders of the Tat'ung River. This tribe must have been smaller than the Pa sha tribe (*Annals* of Hsining 16: 10*a*).

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[72] Pokotilov, *op. cit.*, 10-11.

on his second ascension to the throne, and to present 175
his offices in these times of troubles which beset the 648
empire. He was promoted Tu-tu ch'ien-shih and some-
what later Yu-tu-tu, Governor of Tat'ung. Two [624]
thousand Mongols arrived and plundered the region
of Wei-yuan. Li Wen defeated and pursued them.
The emperor granted him the title of Duke of Kao [574]
Yang. In the autumn of 1460 the Mongol Polai started
a raid on a large scale invading Yen-men-kuan and
devastating the country. The officials in the capital
grew very anxious. Li Wen, however, forbade his
troops to move. He was committed to prison and de- [681]
liberation concerning capital punishment was held. The
emperor pardoned him, but he was stripped of his
titles except that of tu-tu ch'ien-shih, and an opportu-
nity was granted to redeem his honor by fighting the
Mongols in the regions of Yenan and Suei-te (*Annals*
of Kansu 42: 28*a*; *Annals* of Hsining 27: 11*b*).

What was the reason of the unusual behavior of 175x
Li Wen? 662

During the whole reign of Emperor Ching Ti (1450– 578
1457) intrigues went on among the ambitious eunuchs
and the most prominent officials, some of them friends
and some of them foes of Emperor Ching Ti or of the
secluded Emperor Yin Tsung. The factions seethed
with hatred, accused and slandered each other, coveting
the highest positions, wreaking ruin on their rivals.
Many executions of high officials cast a blot in the
reigns of Ching Ti and Yin Tsung.

General Shih Heng had defended for Emperor Ching 175x
Ti the capital beseiged by Esen in 1449. During the 668
illness of Emperor Ching Ti, he hatched a plot pre-
paring the dethronement of Ching Ti and the enthrone-
ment of Yin Tsung. Near Yin Tsung he accused his
rivals and seven executions of the most prominent offi-
cials followed. He was bestowed with the title of
Pilar of the empire. But a comet appeared in the sky. [787]
It was an ominous portent, indicating that the seven
executions caused by Shih Heng were disapproved by
Heaven. Shih Heng was committed to prison. Later
during one of the brightest days it thundered terribly
for a whole day, and one of the doorgates of the palace
was smashed. Then deluging rains caused inundations
in many provinces. Yin Tsung, at his wit's end, pro- [657]
claimed an amnesty in 1458. Shih Heng could leave
jail. In 1459 Shih Heng invited an astrologer to read
his horoscope. The clever man guessing his client's
meaning, predicted that in the Shih family an emperor
would arise, founder of a new dynasty, but that he
would have to act with the utmost caution. Shih Heng
broke the news to his son, Shih Pien, for whom he had
previously secured the office of Governor of Ta-t'ung.
The young man, not cautious enough in his speech, let
the secret leak out in Ta-t'ung. The officials of Ta-t'ung
reported at court and judges arrived. Shih Pien poi-
soned himself. His father was committed to jail and
ended his life in the same way. The officials of Ta- 000

[P. 40(B)]

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place the appanage of Yeh Pu Kan was really situated. It seems to have been north of the Altai Mountains, and north of the appanage of the descendants of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis.

Yeh Pu Kan died in 1288.

YEH MEI KAN, PAPALA, PEITAHAN, AND PAPA

In all the lists of the descendants of Kolgan, Yeh Mei Kan is recorded as the son of Hulut'ai, except in the list of the Cho Keng Lu where he is entirely obliterated. In the history of the Yuan are encountered many Yeh Pu Kan and Yeh Mei Kan and it is not always easy to distinguish them.

In the history of the Yuan (20, *7a*) Yeh Mei Kan the son of Hulut'ai, having simply the title of prince, is recorded as having received a silver gilded seal in 1300 and having died in 1301, and his son Papala as having succeeded him (20, 13). Hambis encounters in the same history two texts concerning Papala: one of 1286 related to an imperial gift for his destitute people, another recorded the granting of the title of "great prince" in 1314 (108, *6b*): On p. 66 Hambis explains the discrepancies between these texts and those related to Yeh Mei Kan, and concludes peremptorily that Papala must have been the brother of Yeh Mei Kan, and not his son, but the son of Hulut'ai. In the Mohammedan lists and in *Yuan Shih hsin pien* he is also noted to be the brother.

The Cho keng lu not only notes Papala as the son of Yeh Mei Kan, but substitutes for him Peitahan, as brother of Yeh Mei Kan. However Peitahan does not belong to the group of the descendants of Hulut'ai, but to that of Chagatai, the second son of Chingis (Hambis, p. 66).

It has been noted that all the old lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai record only three sons. However, the two most recent histories printed after 1911 note four sons: Yeh Pu Kan, Papa, Peitahan, Yeh Mei Kan. Papa noted as the son of Yeh Pu Kan in all the other lists, is noted in both recent works as the brother of Yeh Pu Kan. In all the lists of the descendants of Hulut'ai, Papa is noted as having two sons: Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-sse Timur. Hambis, in his magisterial study, proves conclusively that Papa belongs to the group of the descendants of Chagatai, in which lists he is consigned with his two sons, bearing names entirely the same as those recorded in the Kolgan lists.

The Cho keng lu, in order to make the question more intricate, records the two sons of Papa not to be the sons of Papa, but of T'o Huan! In the family Chronicles, however, these names are not encountered.

T'O HUAN

All the sources, together with the family Chronicles of the Lu clan, unanimously attest T'o Huan to be the son of Papala and descendant of Kolgan in the fifth

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generation. The two most recent studies, however, claim him to be the descendant in the sixth generation, Papala being the son of Yeh Mei Kan and grandson of Hulut'ai. Anyway, T'o Huan is a member of the imperial family of the Yuan by the Kolgan branch.

It is interesting to conclude with the note that Papala had lived and died in Lien Ch'eng. In the *Annals* of Kansu and P'ing Fan, and in the Chronicles of the Lu clan, it is noted that T'o Huan, after his submission, was ordered to reoccupy the old country he had occupied during the Yuan dynasty. In the biography of T'o Huan (3rd section) it is recorded that he and his wife were buried in the ancestral cemetery of Hsi Tatung. Because it is called the ancestral cemetery, ancestors must have been buried there.

THE SONS OF T'O HUAN

The Chronicles of the Lu family note only two sons, Ah-shih-t'u the oldest, and Kung-pu-shih-tieh the second. The *Annals* of P'in Fan and those of Kansu, however, claim Pa chih han to be the first son of T'o Huan. In the study are noted the disastrous consequences of the submissions by T'o Huan, his first son, at the moment of the appointment of his successor as chief of the clan. In the history are noted three more sons: Hapin Timur, Wu T'u-ssu Timur and T'o-erh-chih-pa. Hapin Timur and Wu T'u-ssu Timur are proved by Hambis to belong to the line of Chagatai. T'o-erh-chih-pa (Dorjibal) is noted in Cho Kung lu as son of Pei Ta Han, in the Mohammedan sources. However, in the official history of the Yúan and the two recent historical works, he is claimed to be the son of T'o Huan. In the official history he is recorded as Prince of An Ting, without notice of the date of appointment. It is impossible that a son could have borne the title of his father during the lifetime of the father. T'o Huan died in 1370 and was still Prince of An Ting at the time he submitted to the Ming in 1368–1369. In the family Chronicle, however, are only noted the sons who succeeded to the office of supreme chiefs of the clan. It is not impossible that T'o Huan had had more sons, but that Dorjibal should have been one among them is not proved. In the family Chronicle it is noted that in 1375 T'o Huan helped General Pu Yin to beat the rebel Mongol Dorjibal, who can therefore hardly have been his son. Anyway, he did not succeed T'o Huan.

GENEALOGICAL REGISTER OF THE FAMILY LU

PREFACE

The genealogical register was composed by Lu Chi-hsun, descendant of the fifteenth generation, who filled the hereditary office of commander, with the possession

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563 on, when the Monguors gave up the nomadic way of life and
M became sedentary, the connection with the Chinese became
614 closer and closer and closer until the Monguors finally came
622 under Chinese rule. As the best means of maintaining control
178 over the "frontier barbarians" the Chinese permitted them
177 a certain amount of local self-government; at this time the clan chieftain became a Chinese official, a so-called T'u-ssu or "local chief."

The Monguors were no exception to the rule that all minorities, militarily powerless in comparison with the ruling Chinese, succumbed to the new culture, which, in the minds of the minorities, had always been superior and therefore worthy of imitation. As soon as the minorities were militarily defeated or went into submission voluntarily and deliberately, their chieftains proudly received the insignia and title of a
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[177] Chinese office. This is true of the Khans of the Mongols, the Büks of the Turks, the rgyal-pos of the Tibetans.

While the Turkic chieftains received the title of Shang-lao (Bük), the Mongolian tribal leaders became Wangs, and the Monguor clan chieftains received the title of T'u-ssu. This institution was installed by the Chinese to administer minority tribes at the western frontier of the Chinese Empire. The
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563 T'ang annals already report that the Chinese Emperor made
175 hereditary chieftains of frontier territories heads of the Chi-mi-chou, (the predecessor of the T'u-ssu institution). The Yüan
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175 dynasty already called this office by its present name - T'u-
177 ssu. The Ming dynasty continued to confer this title on Mongol
614 clan chieftains whose clans were by this time mixed with
622 Tibetans, Turks, and Chinese. The Manchu dynasty, (who favored minorities for obvious reasons: (1) the Manchus themselves constituted a minority and (2) maintenance of political equilibrium and balance of power in regard to minorities and indigenous Chinese) extended this system in a way that the various clans gained a limited measure of self-determination and autonomy. However, the ties to the Imperial court and its administrative institutions were, and remained close. Finally, the office of the T'u-ssu remained under the same name during the Republican period of China. In other frontier areas, e.g. in Sinkiang, the names of these offices were different, but they differed only slightly functionally. Father Schram describes the institution as follows: ". . . the T'u-ssu system may be described as a method of allowing marginal non-Chinese peoples attached to, but not yet absorbed into, the body of Chinese society, to continue to live according to their own customs, but under a form of administration adapted to, and forming an extension of, that ofChina as a whole. Hence the dual function of the T'u-ssu as "native Chief" and as Chinese official."

S 563 141 142 body skin is brownish or yellowish and brachycephalism is found in more than 92%. They have high cheek bones, the nose is flat and the eyes show the typical Mongoloid eyefold. The eyes are either black or brown, sometimes even light brown. The hair is also black or dark brown, coarse and straight. Hair growth is sparse. The average height is about 1670 mm. The trunk is strongly built and the legs are rather short in comparison to those of the Uzbeks or Tajiks.

S 563

3. Relations with non-Mongols

There is no animosity between the various Mongol tribes, but there is a definite antagonism between the Mongols and the Kazakhs and between the Mongols and the Chinese.

S 563 175 S (167)

4. History

The Western Mongols are direct descendants from the Oirats of the great Mongolian conquest. At least, since 600 A.D. they have lived in this area. Some of the Torguts are recent immigrants or, more accurately, returnees. They left Russia in 1771 and returned to their homeland, Dzungaria.

S 563 As far as social organization is concerned, the Oirats are said to represent the old Mongolian pattern. Tribal leaders inherit their political positions, and property is considered in terms of pastures and cattle.

S 563 631

5. The leagues

The Mongols of Sinkiang were organized into three leagues:
(1) the Unen Susuqtu League, consisting of ten banners of Torguts
(2) the Batu Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts
(3) the Ching Setkhiltu League, consisting of three banners of Khoshuts and seven banners of Uriangkhai.

N *563 101 M (101)

B. The Mongols of Kansu

1. The Mongours

a. history

The Mongours are the most important Mongolian tribe living in Kansu. They are known under various names. Potanin called them Shirongols, the Chinese call them Tu-jen, the Olots and Torguts call them Dalda or Doldo, the Tanguts call them Cha-hor, but the Mongours themselves use only the latter term. N *563 *175 (167) The Mongours have been studied by Father Schram who states that the Mongours came to Kansu in the course of the Mongol conquests in the thirteenth century and that furthermore the Mongours were already settled in the Hsi-ning area when the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) was founded. M 175 (167) The Ch'ing dynasty (1644-1911) "benefitting by the experience of the Ming succeeded in organizing the country, primarily by subduing the neighbouring tribes of Kokonor, assigning definite territories to each of them and placing them under the jurisdiction of an Amban in 1732; having thus removed the danger of forays by nomadic tribes they were able to develop the country

N *563 *[175] peacefully, stimulating both agriculture and commerce. Development of the country was dependent on control of the neighbouring tribes." M [175]

b. language

M [197] The language of the Mongours is completely different from Western or Eastern Mongolian. There is no communication between the Mongours and Torguts or Ölöts, etc.

c. clan divisions

N *563 M 614 According to Father Schram there exist six Mongour clans in the Hsi-ning district and ten in the district of Nien-pei. (He uses the term "clan" to designate a group who share a common territory, a common surname and a common chief.) The names of the clans are: (1) Ch'i, whose chief is said to be an offspring of Chingis Khan; (2) Ch'eng; (3) Li; (4) Na; (5) Wang, and (6) Chi. The names of the Nien-pei clans are: (1) Ch'i; (2) Li Nan-ko; (3) Li Hua-nao; (4) Chao; (5) Ah; (6) Kan; (7) Chou; (8) Yeh; (9) Hsin; (10) La. As the names indicate, Chinese influence was strong.

During the Ming and Manchu dynasties, Tibetan and Chinese frequently were absorbed by the Mongour clans. Mannerheim reports that the Shera Yögur (another subgroup of the Mongours) have preserved their old Mongolian clan names, like Tokshu, Orge, Sultus, Turgush, Kargos, Arlat, Kong, Lantshak, Socka, Kongrott, Temyrt or Temurtshin, Jaglakyr, Tshungsa, Tshangban, Rkomdjuk, Glan, Kyrgyz, Andjan, Tuman and Uirot. There is a strict observance of clan exogamy.

2. Physical characteristics

N. *563 M 142 [144] Since the Mongours are either of Mongolian, Turkish (Sha-to), Tibetan, or Chinese extraction, their physical appearance is not at all uniform. Mannerheim's description shows this variety of physical features: The Shera Yögurs are of medium height and not badly built. They have well-formed hands and feet and narrow wrists and ankles. There is nothing about them of the coarse and vulgar appearance which distinguishes the Kalmucks. Stout people are never seen - many of them are even remarkably thin. Their faces are neither exceptionally long and narrow nor short and broad. Though some have pronounced cheekbones, wide cheekbones are rare, and in many individuals they are not at all protruding. The mouth is normal, with neither thin nor thick lips, the nose straight and of a good shape. Some, however, have wide turned-up noses, with very little bridge to them. Among the majority, the distance between the eyes was rather wide. It is overgrown by the eyelid in childhood, but with age, this peculiarity almost disappears. Their eyes are black or dark, with slight changes in them, but no blue eyes were observed by Mannerheim. Their hair is black or quite dark, sometimes curly, the children often having brown hair. The men are never bald, but often become very gray and, judging by the women, the growth of hair is not particularly good. They

/The Monguors/

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leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-ssu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-ssu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-ssu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinial noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

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The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-ssu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

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When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sse, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-ssu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

/The Monguors/

N *563 M 614 554 648 175

groups on the frontier of the Empire. The T'u-ssu thus had a double role, he functioned as a "native chief" and as a Chinese official.

The most important clan chiefs who were granted the title of T'u-ssu in Ming times were those of the Ch'i and Lu clans, who were descendants of the Imperial House of the Mongol dynasty; and the Li clan of the Shato Turks. From this time on the Monguours remained faithful defenders of the frontiers, first under the Ming dynasty and later under the Manchu dynasty. The Shato origin of the Li clan is corroborated by the Chinese Annals. Shato tribes are noted to have lived between Hsi-ning and Kan-chou as early as 939. The supposition that tribes of Turkish origin, bearing Turkish names, still live in the country is therefore not unreasonable.

N *563 M 614 175 648 177

During the centuries in which the Monguors lived on the Kansu-Tibetan frontier, Chinese and Tibetan families enrolled in the seventeen Monguor and Shato clans, in addition to the original Mongol stock, and in addition to the Turkish people mentioned. It is very likely that, especially in the period from 1368 to 1723, only stray Chinese families enrolled in Monguor clans. Later in times of peace and wealth, there were probably not many Chinese who joined Monguor clans. It must be said, however, that while the Monguors have absorbed or at least partly absorbed Chinese individuals and families, the Chinese culture is absorbing the Monguor society as a whole. The Monguors feel their culture is lower than that of the Chinese.

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In addition to the Chinese, large numbers of Tibetans enrolled in Monguor clans. However, they have probably joined the Monguors in a way differing from the enrollment of the Chinese. When Chinese or Tibetans enrolled in the Monguor clans, they became plain clansmen and commoners like ordinary Monguors.

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The T'u-ssu received the "ownership" of the territory of his clan from the emperor. These territories were usually assigned, according to a military plan, as a buffer zone, at a time when the Monguors were still exclusively nomads. It may be supposed that the T'u-ssu were bound to live in their territories.

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The distinctive mark of the commoner is bondage to his respective T'u-ssu. Commoners were subjects "granted" to a chief, to serve him in time of peace and to fight under his command in time of war. The military importance of a T'u-ssu was therefore dependent on the number of his families of commoners. Although the social condition of the commoners was not that of slaves, as pointed out previously, the basic distinction between nobles and commoners still existed in recent times. The first duty of a subject was to never abandon his overlord. Ideally speaking, the T'u-ssu and their subjects were bound together for all time. The subjects could not leave their lord in order to pass

1: Washington S-4 (no date) 1956 AF13 Northwest China AF13
Sinkiang AI1
Kazak RQ2
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/The Kazakhs/

S 4. Work and leisure
563 The division of labor between men and women is like that of
K the New Uighurs. Also like the New Uighurs, they love to sing
462 and dance and otherwise enjoy themselves. Because of their
533 hard life, their songs carry a meloncholy quality, and their
535 dance is simple.
[171] It has been mentioned that the people are noted for their ex-
S pert horsemanship. Most of their games are played on horse-
563 back. There are three which may be played by all ages. One,
K similar to the baigi of the Kirghiz, is called "Run for the Sheep."
526 Men on horseback chase a sheep, attempting to drive it along a
designated course to a finish line. With perhaps a hundred horse-
men participating, this game may become quite chaotic.

In the "Pick up Race," the riders hold themselves on their horses with only their legs, and bend down from the saddle at full gallop to pick up silver coins from the ground. The one who picks up the most coins and stays on his horse's back longest is the winner.

The third game, "Girl Chase," is commonly played by the youngsters. The crowd selects a boy and a girl, who ride off together to a designated starting point. On the way, the boy is permitted to say anything he wishes to the girl, and she, no matter how provoked or embarrassed, must tolerate it for the time being. When the referee gives them the signal to return, the boy rides hard with the girl in pursuit. If she catches him, she may punish him for his comments by hitting him with her riding whip. This game serves love-making purposes besides developing riding ability.

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*563 F. The Mongours
M 1. The people
131 The Mongours settled largely, and still live, on the north
361 bank of the Yellow River. The country is adapted primarily to
311 cattle breeding, but most of the plains and the largest of the
valleys have been opened to cultivation. The people were for-
N merly ruled by chiefs, and the clans scattered between two
*563 major tributaries, the Hsi-ning and the Ta-t'ung, of the Yellow
M River. (The word clan is used here to designate a group of
614 people who have a common surname, are ruled by a common
622 chief and share a common territory.) The Mongour clans trace
[175] their presence in the Hsi-ning district as far back as the Yüan
Dynasty (1260-1368). In the Ming Dynasty, a fixed territory was
assigned to the chief of each clan, and from then on they enjoyed
a peculiar kind of local autonomy under their own clan chiefs.
N The origin of the Mongours has been a puzzle to researchers.
*563 One idea is that they are a mixture of the Aryans and Mongols;
M 144 another, that they are Chinese and Tangut. Some Chinese con-
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/The Mongours/

N *563 M 144 174

sider the Mongours an offshoot of the Mongols; others believe they are of Sha-t'o Turkish stock, and that they came to the Hsining region during the T'ang Dynasty (618-906), but that they were not subjugated by the Chinese until the Ming Dynasty.

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The Chinese refer to the Mongours as T'u-jen, or natives, meaning the people born in a certain place, or the original inhabitants of that place. After the Mongours submitted to the rule of the Ming Dynasty, their chiefs, according to Chinese historical record, became Chinese officials with the title of T'u-ssu. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the fields around the towns in Kansu were irrigated by canals assigned to Chinese military colonists, and the grasslands in the valleys were assigned to the various T'u-ssu for the pasturing of their herds and the cultivation of grains without irrigation. As the Mongours were relegated to the side valleys, they were forced to abandon the more fertile irrigated fields, and for that reason part of them fell back on the pastoral economy which they had not yet entirely abandoned. The present day Mongours may be pastoral or agricultural, depending upon where they are located.

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2. Patterns of living

a. Dwelling

M 342

The people were originally nomads who lived in circular felt tents like those of the Mongols. After they settled in Kansu, they lived in houses of the Chinese pattern, built by frontier Chinese.

M [351] M [343] M [231]

The house is surrounded by walls, forming a square, facing south, with a small gate at the southwest corner. The house has mud walls, thatched roof, wooden rafters and beams. Stables and kitchen, separate from the dwelling quarters, are scattered at the other three corners. Mangers for the cattle are outside the buildings, under the windows. There are rooms along the side wall where the younger sons of the family dwell, or where grain, wood, saddles and farm implements are stored. The Mongours like the reassuring nearness of their animals, and at night the courtyard is crowded with noisy animals such as mules, donkeys and horses.

M [592] [574] M [354] [362]

The head of the family and his wife live in the northern building against the back wall of the enclosure. In the center of the house is a room used for the reception of guests and for the family dining room. The chief and his wife have one or two small rooms beside the living room, and the eldest son occupies the opposite room. In each room there is a brick k'ang, a sort of fireplace with its opening on the outside. The k'ang takes up most of the room, and there is little furniture except some wooden chests where clothing and food are stored.

N *563 M 342 591 592

The youngest married son and his family live in the northwest corner of the courtyard near the kitchen. This is considered the "blessed corner," where many offspring may be expected. Tra-